

JAN BOUZEK

STUDIES OF HOMERIC GREECE

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Studies of Homeric Greece

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PREFACE

The earlier predecessors which formed the roots of this field of study were first the old dissertation of Bernhard Schweitzer (1918), whose final synthetic book appeared only after his death (1969) and his polemics with Anna Roes (Roes 1933) who brought important contributions to understanding of the symbols from prehistoric Europe over Greece to Iran, E. Sprockhof's *Nordische Bronzezeit und frühes Griechentum* (1954) was also subject of his lecture in Prague during my student years in Prague and the paper by my Humboldt father W. Kimmig (Kimmig 1964) followed similar path, besides H. Müller-Karpe (1962 and his studies on early Rome and Kerameikos). For penetrating into the world of European symbols H. Kossack's *Symbolgut* (1954) was indispensable and even if we later disagreed in some details, he was many times useful partner in discussions, notable in the eastern relations of Central Europe, Caucasus and Siberia. I hardly met Vladimír Milojčić, but his brief AA paper on northern relations of EIA Greece (Milojčić 1949) was excellent sketch of this field of study and laid foundations for much what I also follow in this book. In the field of Hungarian LBA I benefited much from the friendship of Amalia Mozsolics; János-György Szilágyi helped to educate me in etruscology. Fritz Schachermeyer (1976–1983) had good nose even if his argumentation was not always on expected level, and discussions with him were useful; my dear friend Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy transmitted me some of them together with her own inspiring ideas. In Greece discussions with M. Verdelis and M. Andronikos helped me much already during my first stays in Greece.

My *Homerisches Griechenland* published in 1969 arose from my first study stays in Greece as a guest of Swedish and German institutes and from my Humboldt scholarship with Prof. Wolfgang Kimmig at Tübingen in 1967–68, when I also tried to prepare my later books on relations between Greece and Central Europe, the first draft of which was presented already to the Paris congress of Classical archaeology in 1963. Of Britain I had steady support from my close friends Sinclair Hood, Nicolas Coldstream, Anthony Harding and fruitful exchange of ideas with Anthony Snodgrass and many others, in France I owe much to Jean-Pierre Vernant, Venceslas Kruta, Pierre Devambez, Pierre Amandry, in Germany to W.-D. Heilmeyer, K. and I. Kilian

and K. Kübler. Including the east into this picture enabled me a number of conferences in former Soviet Union, Russia and Georgia, and one semester stay in Moscow in 1976. I also benefited from the survey by O. Dickinson, who holds himself for pupil of Vincent Desborough, whose books on last Mycenaean and on Protogeometric Greece (1964, 1972) were narrative syntheses, also respecting historical sources and mythological traditions of heroic past. Of the Balkan countries I benefited much from my mentors of previous generation, my contemporaries and younger colleagues, in Bulgaria esp. Ivan Venedikov, M. Domaradzki and L. Domaradzka, in Romania to Petru Alexandrescu and Valeriu Sîrbu, in ex-Yugoslavia to Z. and Ks. Vinski, M. and D. Garašanin, R. Vasić, Z. Marić, in Greece to L. Marangou, N. Kourou, A. Mazarakis, M. Andronikos, and A. Michailidou. For understanding the Scandinavian rock art and symbolism I would like to thank to John Colis and F. Kaul, for broader information about context to my careful editor Paul Åström. I am especially indebted to the Mellon foundation and to W. D. Coulson fund or the hospitality in the American School at Athens in 1995, to the German Archaeological Institute and the French School in 2000–2012, and finally to Alexander Mazarakis Ainian for the hospitality at Volos in 2015. The original version of the title of the volume included a subtitle “and koine of EIA Geometric styles revisited”, but the author understands that the shorter title suggested by the publisher sounds better.

I would like to express my gratitude to many persons, who supported me during the long years when trying to study various aspects of this field. In the final phase I thank to the reviewers, Luboš Jiráň and Václav Marek, for their useful comments, to the director of the Karolinum publishing house Petr Valo, Jan Hejzl, Jana Zíková and Stanislava Kučová, who kindly took over the care of the index. Without her support, the book would not appear.

The author would like to dedicate this volume to the memory of Nicolas Coldstream, teacher and friend.

INTRODUCTION

After A. Snodgrass (2000) and N. Coldstream (2003) published second editions of their Dark Age books, the first only with new foreword, and the second rewritten with many improvements, I was asked by several colleagues whether I would not follow them with my old book on Homeric Greece (Bouzek 1969a). First I answered that most of what I wanted to say was put into my second book with Paul Åström (Bouzek 1997a, GAE), but later on the field grew bigger, a large number of new excavations, finds and studies appeared, and new previously neglected aspects of the Dark Age emerged in the ongoing discussions (cf. esp. Stampolides ed. 2004; Mazarakis Ainian ed. 2011, 2016, etc.). The last impetus was the kind invitation to the Dark Age conference at Volos in 2015 by the leading specialist in this field Prof. Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, who was a splendid host. Meeting with many specialists there largely improved my knowledge of the new discoveries and studies.¹

On the other hand I was involved in some more general projects in my country, notably in studies of civilisations and also looking after parallel situations of crises and collapses. For closer collaboration I was also kindly invited by my Icelandic friend Johann Arnason into the field of what they call with Carl Jaspers the emergence of the Axial Age. My studies on much humbler level on the transition from Bronze to Iron Age tried to show that the transition from pre-philosophical to philosophical mind in the categories of Auguste Conte and the structuralism, or from mythos to logos by the Classicists, as *Geburt des Geistes* by Bruno Snell, was a longer process.

First I tried to follow the idea to rewrite my old Homeric Greece with additions, but the more reasonable solution seemed to bring brief overviews of the present state of knowledge (these are the first chapters in each of the first four parts) and attach some comments from dispersed reviews with a selection of up-to-dated earlier papers on detailed aspects of this field, dispersed in various conference volumes, and—often exotic—periodicals, in the frame of revisiting the fields covering roughly the four volumes of mine devoted to Late Bronze—Early Iron Age in Greece and Europe:

1 ARISTOI. Regional Studies towards a new perception of the Early Greek World, Volos, June 18–21, 2015, publ. 2016. The volume is a kind of complementary survey to the more general discussion in my book.

- Homerisches Griechenland, Prague 1969 (abbr. HG)
- The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe in the second millennium BC, Åström 1985 (abbr. AAE)
- Greece, Anatolia and Europe in the Early Iron Age, Åström 1997 (abbr. GAE)
- Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes, Prague 1972 (abbr. GMB)

In my ripe age I hardly could rewrite all, but have to concentrate on more modest goal: to edit dispersed notes while completing the main line of narrative—to attach second thoughts, corrections and additions to various aspects of the subject of this book for those, who will follow my path in the same or related field of study, in a kind of discussion with other new synthetic monographs.

The surveys by O. Dickinson (2006), G. D. Middleton (2010), M. Thomatos (2000) and many other younger colleagues deserve discussion, much new brought the second editions of J. N. Coldstream's, *Geometric Greece* (2003) and *Greek Geometric Pottery* (2008), with supplementary chapters, A. Snodgrass' book *Dark Age Greece* (2000) and also his more recent volumes brought new ideas. I. S. Lemos on Protogeometric pottery (2002) compiled much new evidence on settlements, burials and pottery. Several books by I. Morris and J. Whitley show specific approaches to the subject. The book by A. Mazarakis Ainian on *Ομηρος και αρχαιολογία* (Athens 2000) only appeared in Greek, while his two conference volumes (2013, 2016) and number of other studies on Crete, islands and mainland with the Peloponnese much broadened the evidence and were published the field of study interest enlarged, with several more general books for broader public were published (Cline 2014; Wallace 2010; cf. Tsipopoulou 2005).

In the first four parts of this book the first chapter(s) give(s) a kind of revisited summary of the discussed period, followed by revisited comments and special studies. Brief references to my previous books are put in the brackets into the text; they either refer to more detailed discussions in the old books, or express critics where the progress of knowledge changed the possible interpretation. Special place is devoted to iconography and also to usually neglected metallic finds, as being of interest also to the prehistorians.

Part 5 is devoted to Homer and to explanation of rather unorthodox dating of his lifespan (or at least of Proto-Homer) into the 10th century, with some features corresponding to the lifespan of the Lefkandi hero. Part 6 on the Phoenicians is based on three revisited papers on the Black Sea and Central Europe, while the more general part is based on my lecture in the Oriental Institute in Beirut in 2006. Their role was of primary importance not only in the field of the glass and alphabet, but in the capacity of risky private venture as well.

Part 7 deals with the Macedonian bronzes, the topic of the present author, whose relations to the East, North, Italy and Greece are discussed together with their neighbours. Part 8 sums up the evidence of the *koine* of geometric styles between northern China and the Atlantic coast, part 9 the northern links and relations of Greek religion. Part 10 summarizes the conclusions on the two levels of questions posited: one on the usual field of archaeology and history, and the second on the path from mythos to logos, emergence of Axial Age, change of identity.

Historia magistra vitae. The past experience may offer hints to us: how to develop the means and capacity to find the way out from the menacing collapse nowadays: by rising the mental capacity of thinking, finely educated area of feelings, emotions, to be able to overcome the fear, despair and hate, and to develop strong will to accomplish what has to be done.

PART 1: BRONZE AGE

1.1 “THE FIRST GOLDEN AGE OF EUROPE”

The series of conferences held in the frame of the Council of Europe campaign *The Bronze Age—The First Golden Age of Europe*,¹ of which only several have been published,² may offer good examples of the present situation in Bronze Age studies, where two main camps have been formed, between which the understanding has become difficult. The usual picture is like fairy tales with heroic knights in armour with swords, and beautiful ladies with heavy ornaments, all on them shining in yellow bronze resembling gold.

METHODS, APPROACHES

The Bronze Age in Europe has been traditionally studied mainly from bronze objects and pottery uncovered in the cemeteries, and only later settlement sites are becoming better known. Moreover, the traditional “fundamentalist” approach stressed questions of the typology of the objects, of their relative chronology and of local differences, while other questions of social and cultural life, of settlement sites and patterns, were much less in the focus of interest. This situation, despite of its positive results, left many important questions unanswered.

On the other hand, the approaches of New, Processual and Post-Processual archaeologists, as well as other attempts to solve the problems, in which alternative strategies have been suggested, often lacked sufficiently deep knowledge of the archaeological objects themselves and therefore provoked objections from the traditional connoisseurs.

1 Lecture and review 2000, presented orally, but unpublished. Cf. Bouzek 1988a, 2004.

2 The Verona conference on chronology appeared as a supplementum of *Acta Archaeologica* 67 in Copenhagen (Randsborg, ed. 1996). The last Berlin conference under redaction of B. Hänsel (1998) entitled *Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas—Man and Environment in Bronze Age Europe*. The subject found its reflection also in the UISPP 1996 Forlì congress (sessions concerning the Bronze Age, published in its Acts). One has been published in the series of the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm by Carin Orrling. The other colloquia, like London, Athens-Lagonisi, Lisbon, Besançon, etc. remained unpublished.

Moreover, Aegean Bronze and Early Iron Age studies, stemmed from Classical archaeology of age lit by written history, were also split in an analogous way and too alien to Central European stream to establish mutual understanding.³

The present crisis reflects a situation in which the traditional methods cannot take us much more forward above the level reached by the previous generation. This is especially so for areas which have already been much explored (though this approach can still fill up some *lacunae* even in well-known areas). On the other hand, other approaches, including deduction from patterns of parallel societies and changes known both archaeologically and historically, or from living ethnographic societies, which can still be studied as contemporary to us, are not yet quite ripe to fulfil this task. But a crisis, a disease, may well open the way to its healing: the present situation should not be seen as a problem only, but rather as a challenge giving us the chance to enlarge and deepen our knowledge by trying harder and asking the right questions.⁴

Most of the discussions during the colloquia of the campaign have shown that only an approach from different angles, using different methods, could in their complexity bring us forward in the knowledge of European prehistory. One of the questions raised in the discussions was a confrontation of “autonomist” and “diffusionist” approaches, and considering the relevant situations from these two points of view has confirmed that both approaches may have the right to compete in most crucial questions. Equally the two interpretative streams, one deriving its possible models from “living” ethnography, and the other from the Near Eastern and Classical societies, also known from written sources, may be fruitful, though a caution has to be recommended not to go too far in using shortcut parallels. The Bronze Age stood between the Neolithic period, of which more ethnographic parallels exist until recent times, and the Iron Age, largely known—besides archaeological excavations—from literary sources.

Even the old societies were complex ones, with complicated social structures, with mutual interrelations and contacts between individual areas. Some of these contacts contributed to a *koine* of similar technologies and artistic styles, which show us also the old European continent of that time as certain cultural entity and identity.

Similar, sometimes even identical phenomena existed over most parts of Europe, thus shaping one of its first identities.

3 Cf. e.g. Alcock – Osborne 1988; Blake – Knapp, eds. 2005; Courbin 1988; Mee 2011; Morris, ed. 1994; Osborne 2009; Snodgrass 1987.

4 A survey Z. Vašíček 1994.

BRONZE AGE MIND

The history of religion and many modern studies of the so-called primitive societies have taught us that their understanding of the world was different, but in many ways not inferior to our approach. I would recommend that a similar approach should also be applied to prehistory. The word *ideology* usually means something artificially produced and false. Ancient ways of thinking used by Bronze Age societies reflected the realities surrounding ancient men and women from different angles and with different means than we use to approach them now. But their picture of the world was not considered by the Bronze Age people an *ideology* in our sense. It was the reality in which the ancient peoples lived. It enabled them to conduct their lives in harmony with nature, with their environment and also among themselves, within their society: a goal which we now try hard to achieve, often with modest results as yet.

In any case, archaeology only gives a fragmentary and thus a distorted picture of mutual relations between individual cultures, so, as far as possible, we have also to use other means to reconstruct the general scene.

A few sherds of pottery or other objects found far away from their production centre offer useful information and in all probability they represent a more common feature. In his book *Piecing together the past* (London 1956) V. G. Childe describes an archaeological source as follows:⁵ Mr. Childe went to the woods, he consumed his tin of sardines and buried the empty container under a tree. Later, an archaeologist comes, discovers the tin and knows that Mr. Childe (or somebody like him) was there. Under normal conditions, however, we would need some ten thousands of Childes to have any chance to find one tin. We are normally happy to have our sherds, but their absence cannot be used as a decisive argument against the historical tradition or any other evidence: only too often have a few happy finds destroyed elaborate hypotheses based on the absence of finds.

Organic objects, like wood, basketry, etc. are only rarely preserved, under especially favourable conditions (as in the Egyptian desert, in the frozen soil of Upper Altai, or in wet sites in prehistoric Europe and in Samos' Heraeum), but traces of their influence can be seen in other classes of objects, like pottery and bronze items. We can thus use this evidence for reconstruction of the missing aspects of the archaeological culture. There are also general laws based on a reasonable degree of probability (not absolute necessity) describing changes and interactions between different societies. We have discussed these elsewhere (Bouzek 1988a, 1994a), as other scholars have done (cf. esp. Sherratt 1992), and the interpretations put forward should respect these

5 For Childe's opinions on archaeological theory, cf. now esp. B. McNairn 1980.

laws, and not be based on “feelings” or false presumptions of what should be expected as “safe” arguments in any given case.

Our ecological crisis should teach us that no real results could be reached by examining two phenomena only as *cause* and *effect*. What might work in a laboratory never works in an identical way in real life. Single phenomena can only be studied in isolation in the first stage of examination, which must be followed by examination of their relation to other phenomena in time and space, and also of their place in a higher order. All phenomena acquire real meaning only in the context of other features. There are always chains of causes and effects and other kinds of interrelations, among them those, which respect a higher totality, of which single phenomena are but members. Here our position is holistic, so that we are convinced that a basic change in the human mind lies behind all artistic products and can again be studied through its reflection in them.

Human history is also an interaction between man and his natural environment, and changes in this interaction, due to climatic fluctuations and changes and damage caused by human activities, are also part of our story: men had to react to all of them to survive. One also has to study the phenomena themselves, and be critical when considering opinions on them expressed by others.

If arguments for the existence of a phenomenon are proved wrong, renewed study of the phenomenon is necessary—its existence may still be correct. Equally erroneous is the argument that if a phenomenon cannot be proved with certainty to exist (1), it has no right to be considered as existent (2) and its existence should therefore be denied (3). This attitude means that we close doors through which our knowledge may one day be enlarged.

We have to steer our ship between the Scylla of telephone catalogues of objects or phenomena (data bases, which may be useful, but can never represent the final aim of a real study) and the Charybdis of free play with hypotheses, where everything may be possible, since no proofs are required for different views. Only after skilled manoeuvring between the two and taking from both what is still sound, can we try to overcome—as far as our capacities allow—both dangers.

We have to use models, but we should also bear in mind that perimeters not included in the model bring unexpected possibilities into any real sequence of events. That all individual cases are determined by one general law is no longer respected in modern science, which knows many laws of only statistical validity. To paraphrase Aristotelian philosophy, induction can bring us to a certain level of probable knowledge, but above this level it is unable to give general results, while deduction can encircle the space in which the probable solution can be sought, but does not determine the individual case.

All documents must be placed where they belong, and the general subject approached from as many angles as possible: this would exclude hypotheses derived only from one-sided observations. It must, however, be stressed that the improbable may also happen.

We should not keep to schematic models or schemes: our way of thought must be moving freely over our hypotheses, which should be no more than the scaffolding helping us to reconstruct the building, scaffolding which will be taken away once our part of the building is finished. It must also be stressed that alternative explanations should always be mentioned. Some stones from our building may fall out, and the building may again take a different shape. We still have a long way to go to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the subject discussed here, but we may express the hope that some contribution to solving some problems may be found, if Klio, the Muse of history and perhaps of archaeology as well, is with us.⁶

The Bronze Age laid backgrounds of our present Europe: the story of princess Europa, kidnapped by Zeus and receiving gifts enabling safe rule, belongs here.

1.2 MYCENAEAN MODELS AND EUROPEAN PARALLELS

Minoan seals and signet rings show divinities and priestesses worshipping sacred trees, boulders, gardens and altars, dances: phenomena paralleled in most religions known to us, but some of those more specific ones suggest similar traits common to the Aegean and temperate Europe as well (AAE 43–56; Marinatos 1993; Hrubý 1958; Bouzek 1994).

In prehistoric Europe altars similar to the Aegean ones are known in clay, sometimes burned. The sanctuary from Uherský Brod, where bulls were sacrificed and their figurines also offered, reminds much of the rituals in the Bronze Age Aegean (**fig. 1**), the so-called Little Altar of Minoan-Mycenaean iconography has parallels in clay and in small bronze objects, mainly pendants (AAE 71–76). The necklace with acorns (or penises?) from the Shaft Graves has close parallel in pendant from the early MBA site at Vrcovice (**pl. B 1.3**) in South Bohemia (Hlášek et alii 2015; Pl. 21:8), where also a copy of early pithos has been found (**pl. B 1.1**). The earrings with spiral terminals from the Shaft Graves probably belonged, as already Arthur Evans thought, to princesses from far north married to Mycenaean princes; their North Balkan origin is at least very probable (AAE 53–55). Jewellery was transmitted by

6 The volume 4 (The Bronze Age, 1913) of the *Prehistory of Bohemia* brings useful discussion by L. Jiříraň. Cf. Harding, A. – Fokkes H., eds. 2013, *The Oxford Handbook of European Bronze Age*, Oxford; Kristiansen 1998; Kristiansen – Larsson 2005; Bergebrant – Sabatini, eds. 2013; Beneš 1964.

intermarriages, the princesses married to foreign rulers were ambassadors caring for their people, as we know e.g. from the story of Ester. Baltic amber was used in Mycenaean jewellery and even in Egypt (Beck – Bouzek, eds. 1993; AAE 54–58); faience and glass beads worn in many parts of moderate belt of Europe (AAE 58–60). Roundels with spiral decoration of gold and of bone, the latter with spirals drawn by compasses (**figs. 2–4**), reflect the items from the Shaft Graves of Mycenae, and even the Tumulus culture pottery took inspiration from Middle Helladic / Early Mycenaean shapes (**fig. 7**), while **fig. 6** summarizes the distribution of Mycenaean and related finds north of the Aegean, inspiring European weapons and tools (AAE 64–68, Bouzek 2011b, 40–43). Aegean Linear script was not unknown in other parts of Europe, as shown by finds from the Balkans and from other parts of Central Europe (cf. AAE, 48–91; HG 16–20; Vladár – Bartoněk 1977).⁷

What is, however, equally interesting for the study of relations between prehistoric Europe and the Aegean civilisations is the metrical system of weights.⁸

A survey of the situation of recording quantities of metals in the Aegean and in the Near East have been recently thoroughly studied by A. Michailidou, ed. (2001ab) and in the conference volume edited by Ch. Pare (2000).

WEIGHT UNITS

In all these areas, metal was costly and was measured and weighed carefully. This concerned all metals known during the Bronze Age—bronze, gold and silver. Large amounts of metal were in state or public possession usually (royal, temples, holders of higher administrative positions) but less valuable amounts belonging to private people (and sometimes larger with the tradesmen) were also subjects of inheriting, selling and other transformations of ownership. Generally, there is a close resemblance between the situation in the Near East and in the Aegean in the distribution system of metals (cf. also Gillis et alii, eds. 1996). In prehistoric Europe, the system also worked as a kind of exchange-redistribution pattern, accepted on large territories and enabling access to metal even to small village units in all Bronze Age European “cultures”.

Weights of bronze, lead or of stone were of various shapes and also of different materials in different parts of the Mediterranean and of temperate Europe (cf. esp. the series from the Uluburun shipwreck, Pulak 2000, and those from Kea, Petruso 1992, with Pare 1999; Ruiz Gálvez 2000), and with the Italian weights (Cardarelli et alii 2001; Peroni 2001; Bossi 2001; Cattani 2001;

7 Cf. also Bernstorff, Gebhard 1999, and Gebhard – Rieder 2002; Bouzek 2008; Briard 1987.

8 Revisited summary of paper presented to the Eogan Festschrift.

Maggiani 2001). Small balances are known not from the Eastern Mediterranean only, but from several parts of Central Europe as well (esp. Pare 1999, with examples illustrated). Shapes of weights were not identical even in the Near East and in the Aegean, and they were of different materials. A group of stone weights is known from Bronze Age Italy (**fig. 12**), while most of weights known from Central and Western Europe are of bronze (**fig. 8**). Balances are known from all parts of the world compared here, scale-beams even from prehistoric Europe (**fig. 11**). While the ideas behind weighing and weight units were common property, the shapes of weights show local varieties.

The Aegean weight units have been studied for many years and are generally well known (cf. esp. Michailidou, ed. 2001ab; Ruiz Gálvez 2000). For small weight units in the Aegean, there are two main calculations. Petruso (1978ab) came to 61.5 g and Parise to 65.27 g (Ruiz Gálvez 2000). The main Aegean sub-unit was probably 6.7 g (between 6.5 and 6.8 g); the system was binary.

J. Eiwanger (1989, 449) came in his analysis to two possible weights for the talent in prehistoric Europe. One was calculated from the hoard of Féregyháza in Hungary (31 439.7 g), and another from the Eberswalde hoard (31,437.3 g). Both are reasonably similar to the Aegean talent, and the differences between these two are very small. The standard measures are especially typical for gold hoards. He takes the small unit known from many parts of Europe as 55.21 g. For the bronze objects he sees the standard unit ca. 12 and 17 g (o. c. p.). The calculations of Bronze Age weight units in large parts of Europe show that these areas used the Mycenaean weight units for weighing metals. Malmer (1992) had also 26.6 g as a quarter unit, 107.07 as the basic unit. Ch. Pare (1999) calculates with 12.2 g, what is 1/5 of the Mycenaean unit of 61 g. 24.4 g is 1/20 of 4.888 g. For Br D the usual units were 6.9 g and 31 g, for the final Bronze Age the unit as far as known was ca. 27 g. R. Peroni calculates the main weight unit as ca. 26 g, a second as 62–63 g; there existed also their multiplications and fractions. Even if there are small differences in present calculations (ancient people did not measure as exactly as our modern machines), there is an apparent relation between the Bronze Age Aegean, Italic and European systems. Cardarelli et alii (2001) came to an unit ca. 52–53 g, well comparable with the 26 g unit.

The collapse of the Mycenaean civilization around 1200 brought changes into the generally accepted system, and the shekel (7.9 g) became the main international weight unit (Ruiz Gálvez 2000). Multiple units known are: 36–37 g = 5 shekels; 79 g = 10 shekels; 160 g = 20 shekels; 296 = 35 shekels; 320 g = 40 shekels.

ELITES

Two conferences published by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum at Mayence “Eliten in der Bronzezeit, 1999” brought in two volumes parallel analyses of the elites systems of Bronze Age in the Aegean and in temperate Europe. This colloquium helped to remind us of many resemblances in the systems of Bronze Age societies in both compared parts of the ancient world. All areas with *élites* of similar character apparently had some compatible systems of administration, diplomatic interrelations, distribution and redistribution of metals. Even if on a more primitive level in temperate Europe, the general traits of the Central European elites “administration” resembled that of the Minoan and Mycenaean palace economy.

These social systems and the general way of life of these elites (kings-priests and their sub-leaders, priests etc.) were compatible to each other to a certain degree, understandable in their basic traits to the political and economic partners even in distant areas. The common system of values in social life facilitated a large-scale “trade” with metals, the most important raw materials for any part of the Bronze Age world (cf. Eogan 1990, 1997).

It is also very probable that this spread of a system of ideas and beliefs included a connection between metals, planets and their divinities: copper was connected with Astarte and Aphrodite-Venus, tin with the predecessors of Zeus-Jupiter in the ancient world. Gold jewellery was connected with the Sun. All literary sources of the ancient Near East and Egypt document that the religious and secular domains were not separated, smelting metals was connected with some rituals and sacrifices, and the spread of metallurgy should thus be connected with a sophisticated system of thoughts and beliefs which formed the content of mind of ancient Europeans and of their Near Eastern relatives as well (cf. also Hansen 1999). Two new finds deserve a special mention:

One of them is the disc from Nebra (Gillis – Risberg – Gleirscher 2007), another the amber beads with marks similar to Aegean Linear scripts from Bernstorf, Ldkr. Freising in Bavaria (Gebhard 1999, Gebhard – Rieder 2002). Other important contribution to this subject represents the book by Vladimír Podborský on the religion of early Europeans (2006). The question of religious parallels and relations in this field seems to be now in the focus of interest (Whittaker, ed. 2008; Baray 2008; cf. Hiller 1984).

The religious ideas of the Central European people arrived to Greece across the Adriatic mainly during the Late Bronze Age. It concerns the hoards (Bouzek 1985 and A. Mozsolics 1985–2001), amber, its use with solar wheel, and gold discs with spirals. The items well known from the West Bohemian Tumulus culture have close analogies in South Italy and also in the Delos and Tiryns treasures (cf. **fig. 5**), European weapons, tools (**fig. 6**) and even

pottery shapes were inspired from the Aegean area (**fig. 7**). After many years of discussions even some younger scholars found what I wanted to show for many years (AAE 175); at least partly W. David (2007) from the northern point of view, and R. Jung (2007) from the point of view starting from the Aegean (cf. AAE 45–51).

A series of phenomena shows that Europe was not fully isolated from the Eastern Mediterranean and from the Near East. The weight units of the European Middle and Late Bronze Age were common to all areas, the astrology and the mythological teaching about metals was international, as were the shapes of the majority of metal objects, the technology of casting, of architecture and so on. There must have been some basic common understanding also in establishing long-distance relations and an attempt to understand them more properly is one of the challenges of our time. The system of distribution of metals during the Bronze Age probably resembled the state-directed system of the Eastern Mediterranean. In general, there are resemblances of various artefacts from the temperate zone of Europe with those from the Aegean, among them in jewellery, which marked the status of the person, of the priestesses, priests etc. But even more important than relations between objects are the relations of ideas which enabled the rise of Europe, a cultural unity even in our modern sense (cf. Harding 2000, 2007; Harding – Fokkes, eds. 2013; Jirán, ed. 2015). For understanding of Minoan and Mycenaean cultures Greek myths and Near Eastern Bronze Age parallels have been used with varying success,⁹ but northern links were also important and should not be neglected (cf. Chidiosan – Ordentlich 1975: a temple).

OXHIDE INGOTS AND OTHER SHAPES, WEIGHTS

New finds of bronze ingots shaped like the oxhide from NE Bulgaria (two now exhibited in the Varna Museum, a third in a private collection, and several fragments) confirm the trade links between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean; a fragment of another comes from Suebia (mus. Stuttgart, cf. **figs. 73–75** and **10**); Primas – Pernicka 1998; Doncheva 2010; Bouzek 2011b). There are also some standard shapes of cast bronze and weights for weighing small objects, probably metals; they are known from many parts of Europe: this shows that the “trade” in metals had some general rules accepted over large territories (cf. Gale 1991).

9 A good example are three books on Minoan and Mycenaean religion by Nanno Marinatos. The first two (*Art and Religion on Thera*, Athens 1984, and *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual*, Stockholm 1986) are linked to later Greece, and the third (*Minoan Religion, Ritual, Image and Symbol*, Columbia, South Carolina 1993) tries explanations by means of Near Eastern, Egyptian and Hittite parallels, each case with different results.

A survey of the situation of recording quantities of metals in the Aegean and in the Near East have been thoroughly studied by A. Michailidou, ed. (2001ab). In all these areas, metal was costly and was measured and weighed carefully. This concerned all metals known during the Bronze Age—bronze, gold and silver. Large amounts of metal were in state or public possession usually (royal, temples, holders of higher administrative positions) but less valuable amounts of objects in possession of private people (and sometimes larger with the tradesmen) were also subjects of inheriting, selling and other transformations of ownership (Courtois 1990).

OTHER UNITS, AND THEIR POSSIBLE RELATIONS TO MEASURING UNITS IN BRONZE AGE EUROPE

The length units of the ancient Near East are known from various sources. A good example is the stick of Maya, the finance minister of Tutankhamun, in the Louvre. Its total length of 52.3 cm is divided in 28 digits, each measuring 1.86 cm), and further into half digits of 9.3 mm and in 1/16 digit of 1.16 mm. With my colleague D. Koutecký we tried to calculate the contents of some large vessels and of the storage pits (silos). The latter had apparently some relation to the size of the field for which grain destined for the sewage was stored, but also to the hollow measures for dry substances in the Mycenaean world (Bouzek – Koutecký 1991).

ASTROLOGY AND THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF METALS IN ANCIENT SOCIETIES

Not only metallurgy itself, but also other civilisation traits spread with metallurgy. One of them was apparently a kind of astrology, connected with observatories and calendars giving a regular rhythm to annual feasts and agricultural activities, as reflected in circular enclosures known from many parts of Europe. The second was a kind of artistic symbolism, preferring abstraction to the former Neolithic “naturalism”. The latter was also probably connected with some geometry as applied in various domains: construction of houses, measuring of fields, ploughing. None of these could have been introduced without some practical geometry, similar to that used for ziggurats in Mesopotamia and for pyramids in Egypt. It is also very probable that this spread of a system of theories and beliefs included a connection between metals, planets and their divinities: copper was connected with Astarte and Aphrodite-Venus, tin with the predecessors of Zeus-Jupiter. All literary sources of the ancient Near East and Egypt document that the religious and secular domains were not separated, smelting metals was connected with some

rituals and sacrifices, and the spread of metallurgy should thus be connected with a sophisticated system of thoughts and beliefs which formed the content of the conscience of ancient Europeans and of their Near Eastern relatives as well (cf. Bouzek 2011b, 31–32). The hoards may have been probably reused in times of necessity, but their deposition was the final phase and confirmation of a ritual, sacrifices to deities. Müller-Karpe in his book (1998) has shown that Jaspers' system of the structural chronological development of civilisations can also be applied to prehistory; and many cultural elements were common to many areas; this could not be achieved without some kind of personal communications—formerly called prospectors, merchant ventures, pilgrims, distant marriages with brides confirming alliances, etc. LH III B saw the highest density of settlements in Greece, decline in most areas in LH III C early to late, with the bottom in Submycenaean and only very small rise in 10th to 9th centuries; for Central Europe the opposite is characteristic (cf. HG 50–68; GAE 19–33, here **fig. 14**). Aegean and Anatolian weapons and armour were models for the European development and later the European for the Aegean (AAE 3–50, 99–150).

THE TRANSITION FROM BRONZE TO EARLY IRON AGE

The process was slow, but the changes substantial. The new community turned from the king-priests to those of the strong individuals; in the language of Hesiod, the Age of the Heroes was a transitional period between the Copper and Iron Ages. The new political system was more divided into small units, the small *oikoi* of the important persons were more independent of larger communities, the Dionysiac separation of the individuals from the community brought the system of leader-and his-men (*Gefolgschaft*), arranged according to personal relation between the leader and his followers, and/or in relations inside his *družina*. This formed a new society and the new Iron Age mind, preparing the rise of philosophy, first as a ruse of Odysseus and David. The trade and exchange network also changed substantially. At this time, also the weight units are no longer pan-European, there are substantial local differences between local areas (cf. Bouzek 2011b, 59–62).

1.3 MIGRATIONS IN THE AEGEAN

The idea of any migrations in antiquity was long time out of fashion, but in the last years there were at least some attempts to return to the subject (Härke 1988; Burmeister 1996, 13–21; Anthony 1990, 895–914; Sherrat 1992, 1–5; Laka 2002), including a section in the European Association of Archaeologists at

Malta in 2006,¹⁰ and the time seems to be ripe to try to examine the possibilities of migrations on a more sophisticated level (cf. AAE 240–244; GAE 22–33, and G. Cadogan, ed. 1986). A good start may represent migrations attested both archaeologically and historically; their examination may narrow the field of possible interpretations of the archaeological evidence by showing what can be expected after which kind of invasion.

Let us consider first the three basic models and their main variations:

A. The invasion of a group with a higher culture into a less developed area is usually called colonisation. The real colony, as known from ancient Greek history, means the transplantation of a more sophisticated culture as a whole, with a substantial number of newcomers (colonists; Graham 1980; Boardman 1980). Though some earlier inhabitants of the area colonized are included (in lower positions) into the new social system, the slight traces of the more primitive culture of the earlier inhabitants are subdued and they either disappear soon, or play only a marginal role. Under the usual conditions, neighbours who are not culturally much inferior, are readily acculturated (like the neighbours of the Greeks in Italy) while those whose culture is too different (like the Pontic nomads) are much more resistant in this respect.¹¹

If the number of colonists—invaders is small (var. Ab), the result will be a more or less mixed society. Even in this case acculturation of the local population is probable if the difference between the two cultural levels is not very great, but many more traces of the earlier local culture will be preserved and the result will be more or less a mixture of the two. If the newcomers form the ruling class, their taste has an overwhelming impact; if they only live as *metoikoi* and offer some kind of service, the resulting changes will be more in technical skills and innovations than in fashion and taste, except in some elements of the latter.¹²

This kind of colonization may be illustrated by some Mycenaean trading posts in Italy, and we can trace all three models in the interrelations between the Minoan, Helladic and Cycladic culture in the Aegean Bronze Age.¹³ But no evidence of this kind seems to exist for the extra-Aegean influx of population from the Near East, except perhaps for some specialists in ivory carving and furnishers of bronze figurines in the Mycenaean world, predecessors of later Phoenician traders in Geometric Greece.¹⁴

10 A similar paper appeared, slightly out of place, in Poland: Bouzek 2010a, cf. Bouzek 1996ab.

11 For Italy cf. e.g. Lepore 1970; de la Genière 1987.

12 This is clear e.g. from the Ionian artisans in Persia or Greek artists in Rome.

13 Cf. the acts of the colloquium *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and reality*, ed. by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, and the review in *Gnomon* 1986, 71–73.

14 Cf. the conference *Phönizier in Westen*, Niemayer, ed. 1984 and Coldstream 1982.

B. In the case of an invasion of bearers of a lower culture into a culturally more developed territory, much depends on the size of the invading group as against the native population. The complete eradication of an earlier culture is an extreme case known only from small communities surrounded by a culturally different milieu (like Greenland's Vikings); this has hardly happened in history on a larger scale.

When a large group of newcomers forms the majority of the new society, in which the remains of the old population are in the minority and of low social standing (var. Ba), the taste of the newcomers would prevail and the regression of the old culture towards a more primitive social and artistic system will be the result. The craftsmen of the old population are made use of. No invading barbarians like to do more work by themselves than what is necessary, and so the readily make use of the more skilled natives who can be ordered what and how to produce, according to the barbarians' own will, their own taste. In such a case, artistic style changes more or less substantially, though it always adapts earlier available models and takes over those techniques of craftsmanship which are too sophisticated to them. The Germanic occupation of the Rhineland and northern France (by the Franks) may serve as examples.

If the group of barbarian newcomers is smaller, yet, despite their small number, they establish themselves as the ruling class, we may find destruction and some barbarian elements in the artistic style, but only relatively little changes in culture in general. The barbarians make use of the skill of the much better artisans of the previous culture and also use their products to demonstrate the legitimacy of their rule as against the subjugated earlier population. Theodoric of Ravenna and the Visigoths in Spain may be plausible examples of this kind, or the Vikings, who eagerly took over the culture of the territory they subjugated.

Smaller groups of warlike invaders usually influence armour, weapons and male dress fashions, while the larger groups, in bringing their women with them, also affect women's fashions; nevertheless the techniques of the old local artisans are preserved. The result also depends on how rich the culture of the newcomers is: if it is simple like that of the Mountain peoples invading Mesopotamia or the Viking warriors, archaeological traces are fairly modest, except in destruction.

The third theoretical possibility which may be considered (C) is one in which both cultures, that of the invaders and of the invaded country, are of roughly equal standards. The culture of the invaders then prevails among the ruling class, but many elements of the defeated culture persist and the result ought to be a kind of symbiosis of the two.

In real situations, however, the two cultures are practically never of the same level, and the higher culture will prevail under progressive conditions, while the more primitive culture dominates under regressive conditions.

A complete exchange of population is an extremely rare case even among nomadic populations, who move with their herds, and practically never happens with settled agriculturalists, more intimately bound to their land. Even if as a consequence of a cruel war all men carrying weapons have been killed or abandoned their country, most of their women and children stay behind, so that at about 2/3 of the old population remains. Much more often, however, even some of the male population surrender and are integrated into the new system in various ways. In Greece, we have the Dorian model of subjugated populations strictly applied in Sparta and Crete, and the Ionian model incorporating foreign elements into “normal” society without apparent difficulty, while granting them almost or fully equal rights.

Even the notoriously cruel Assyrians organized deportation rather than eradication of their defeated enemies, and the most cruel eradication known from the Old Testament (the book of Joshua) knew lots of exceptions. In addition, hardly any other ancient culture felt itself so unique and so different from their neighbours as the ancient Hebrews.

As for language, there exists one rule that invaders without their womenfolk usually lose their language in two generations: everyone takes the mother her tongue of his or her mother. In this respect, the fate of a group bringing its women with it usually depends on the size of the group. The language of the invaders does not disappear so easily; at least it influences some features of the language of the old population, even if the latter prevails, as in the case of the Germanic tribes in the Latin-speaking countries, or the Protobulgars in Bulgaria. The larger groups with long-lasting political dominance may implant their language among the population invaded, as was the case e.g. in Hungary with the Hungarians or in Anatolia with the Turks.

Using the comparative system of invasions in case of the variant (B), we can fit the situation towards the end of the Mycenaean culture and after its fall into this model practically in all points: there are parallels among the cases with massive immigrations of a more primitive population, but where the former local culture retains an important role, though without its most sophisticated top part, which apparently disappeared. The lower tradition of craftsmanship formed the base, but the new directions in which art developed were in many aspects—notably ideological ones and those of artistic taste—dictated by the newcomers, at least after some time had passed and the new culture began to emerge. According to the usual pattern, the first generation does not develop a new culture, it only destroys the old one.

Among the comparable models both historically and archaeologically known, we find close parallels in France and in northern Italy dating towards the end of the Great Migration period. Here, our results seem to be clear, and other explanatory hypotheses lack comparable parallels among historically and archaeologically known models (cf. e.g. d'Agata – Moody, eds. 2005).

The situation towards the end of the EH II culture and in EH III is less clear, but even here, with deeper knowledge of what happened in large parts of Greece including the islands,¹⁵ there seems to be more traces of significant cultural change than e.g. in Visigothic Spain or Vandal Africa. Moreover, both periods—the end of Early Helladic and Late Helladic cultures—coincide with climatic changes, favouring the temperate part of Europe, which became warmer and more fertile, and bringing dryness to the Mediterranean countries. This situation favoured the change in the balance of power between Barbarian Europe and the civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean. It follows from these comparisons that these two periods were decisive for important changes of population in Greece. In the earlier case, the chain of archaeological documents of barbarian elements brings us to the area of the Pontic steppes, in the latter case to the eastern part of Central Europe.

In the latter case, we have the theory of Fritz Schachermeyr,¹⁶ who thought the Sea Peoples had come from the northern area. There were very probably some among the first newcomers arriving by sea, like those mentioned from the last year of the kingdom of Pylos (Chadwick 1976, 173–180). But the second wave, bringing larger groups, is more difficult to explain in this fashion, and the old hypothesis that the Dorians used the opportunity and came with allies from some place near the eastern Alps or from Hungary, and that their ancestors might be found among the bearers of the Late Tumulus cultures of the Middle Bronze Age (cf. esp. Merhart 1969 and Hood 1982), now seems again much less absurd than it looked to most specialists for some time, despite of the weaknesses of the old argumentation. After studying models from Celtic and Germanic migrations (cf. Dobesch 1983, 179–229) the more northerly locations even of the allies of the Dorians for some time do seem within the range of what is entirely possible, if as yet far from certain.

What prevents most of us from discussing these problems on a more sophisticated level than the usual “feeling” is existence of several basic obstacles.

1. The poor level of argumentation of those of the previous generation who discussed the migrations. But it should be kept in mind that the

15 Cf. the contributions by M. S. F. Hood and M. Sakellariou in the volume edited by G. Cadogan and J. Rutter, *Some observations in the Cyclades in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC*, *AJA* 87, 169–176; Id., *The Early Cycladic III gap*, In: *The Prehistoric Cyclades, Contributions to the Workshop of Cycladic Chronology*, Edinburgh 1984, 96–107 (cf. Dumas 1998).

16 Cf. esp. his *Ägäische Frühzeit III–V*, 1979, 83.

phenomena do not disappear when the wrong arguments given by some scholars in favour of their existence are destroyed: the phenomenon has to be examined again without prejudice unbiased by the wrong arguments of our predecessors.

2. To throw a reflection of ourselves onto the past and try to smooth away dramatic events from our picture of the past: this is the same automatic tendency which governs us when speaking of illnesses, suffering and death as integral parts of our own lives.
3. The static picture given by the archaeological sites to the excavators implants in our minds the necessity to study a continuous development in our site or area. We acknowledge real imports, but are much less ready to see relations of a subtler kind; the archaeologists' mind has in most cases become too mechanical in approach, so that it is difficult to them to accept a more sophisticated way of thought.
4. In common naivety, many archaeologists expect proofs of events of a kind which cannot exist; what cannot be proved by a subjective measuring stick produced in their own mind should be rejected as non-existent.
5. The general tendency of all science today is that it is the duty of the facts to persuade us of their existence, and if they do not do this hard enough, according to our expectations, the existence of the facts must be denied: This means that we close the doors in places where real knowledge may come one day: we must leave the door open and listen more carefully.

As against the two main periods with barbarian invasions mentioned above, documentation of other possible cases of this kind in the Aegean Bronze Age is much weaker. The Shaft Graves culture shows some Anatolian and Balkan affinities, and possibly some small group participating in or maintaining power may have arrived from areas outside the Aegean, but most of what happened there is derived from developments in the Aegean area itself. Foreign elements in LH III B Greece are related to those which appear in the time of the destruction of the palaces; they seem to belong to the same chain of events. It cannot, however, be excluded that the "barbarisation" of the Mycenaean culture started earlier, and that the picture we know from the Linear B tablets are already the result of the first stage of integration of some pre-Dorian Greek elements into an originally different culture.¹⁷

It should be remembered that the groups invading were not big, that even the brides were able to bring cultural messages, besides the pilgrims and merchants; the analyses of teeth confirm what could be expected.

¹⁷ For the characteristic archaeological attitudes towards the problems of possible migrations, cf. e.g. V. Karageorghis, "Barbarian" Ware in Cyprus, and the following discussions. In: Karageorghis, ed. 1986, 246–264.

For attitude near to historical cf. M. S. F. Hood (notes 19, 22) and N. Sandars, *OxfArch* 2, 1983, 43–68. A useful historical survey Sakellariou 1980. Cf. Dumas 1993.

1.4 REVIEWS

A. Anthony F. Harding, *European Societies in the Bronze Age*. Cambridge University Press 2000. 552 pp. with many illustrations and ten tables.¹⁸

The previous book on this subject written by the author with *John Coles* (*The Bronze Age in Europe*, 1979) gave, similarly as the similar book by *Marija Gimbutas* (*Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe*, The Hague 1965), a survey of prehistoric cultures, their particularities and interrelations; this was usually the contents of all similar books of this kind. In the new book, Anthony Harding essayed a different approach.

He deals separately with the Bronze Age house and village, the burials, the domestic economy (i.e. mainly agriculture and cattle breeding), with problems of transport and contact. The chapter on metals deals with ores, mining and melting, another chapter on “other crafts” deals with wood-working, salt and textile production, glass and faience. A specific section is devoted to warfare (the author organized a special colloquium on this question a couple of years ago), including forts and fortifications. Chapter 9 is devoted to religion and ritual and to hoards and hoarding respectively. Temples and sacred bothroi are described, cult objects and symbols, votive deposits, animal and human sacrifices and even anthropophagy, are discussed; a special subchapter deals with the rock art. Ch. 10 deals with hoards and hoarding and its explanations. Ch. 11 deals with the appearance of the people, their dress, jewellery, population estimates and demography. Finally, ch. 12 is devoted to social organization and ch. 13 brings the conclusions of the volume. An extensive and useful bibliography is added, but many general books on Bronze Age Europe are missing there.

In its approach the book more focused on similarities than differences; the usual archaeological divisions of cultures groups and regions are very little dealt with, and emphasis is given just to the general problems of the way of living in the Bronze Age. The housing in different parts of the temperate zone of Europe (the Mediterranean is not dealt with) shows much more parallels than differences. All Bronze Age cultures had similar kind of agriculture, of bronze objects; they buried their dead or cremated them, their techniques of woodworking and textile production were similar, as were also the custom of hoarding bronze objects and religious beliefs. The whole temperate zone discussed in the volume was inhabited by people who shared much in common, and this also enabled relatively easy communications among them. So far so good, but one would like to hear more about the particularities of individual groups even in those fields, where the differences are apparent. The author

18 First published in *Gnomon* 2001, shortened.

is wise enough to try to find a reasonable compromise between speculations based on one category of evidence. He does not prefer one approach only, so his book will certainly be useful to those who look after the questions posited—and to a large extent answered—in the volume under review.

B. Oliver Dickinson, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age*. Continuity and change between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC, Routledge, Abinmdon / New York, 2006.¹⁹

The book first has to be compared with similar books published recently. J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* was republished in 2003 with improvements and supplementary chapters, A. Snodgrass' book *Dark Age Greece* (omitted in the bibliography of the book under review), it reappeared with slight changes in 2000. I. S. Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*, Oxford 2002 is a new book, a concise survey of Protogeometric settlements, burials and pottery. Several books by I. Morris and J. Whitley show specific approaches to the subject, generally of a character differing from the mainstream studies, while the book by J. Mazarakis Ainian on Homeric Greece (Ομηρος και αρχαιολογία, Athens 2000) only appeared in Greek and is also omitted in the bibliography, though without doubt it deserves much interest. It became usual in books written for English-speaking readers that books written in other languages (cf. now Sherat – Bennet, eds. 2016: *Archaeology and Homeric Epics*, Oxford) are only exceptionally included in the bibliography (and even less red by the students), O. D. claims being a pupil of Vincent Desborough, whose books on last Mycenaeans and on Protogeometric Greece were narrative syntheses, also respecting historical sources and mythological traditions of heroic past.

O. D. book is different. There are useful passages on pottery relations, evaluating even new studies, like R. W. Catling on northern Protogeometric, and also compiling useful information on some other. But most parts of the book resemble a list of comments to some round discussion on several problems, where he brings his point of view while weighing opinions on them written by others. D. posited some questions and tries to answer them by discussing mainly different opinions of specific questions and finally deciding who is right.

The introduction discusses the explanative theories, and here D. expresses his sceptic position: It can reasonably be supposed that the Protogeometric period was less dark than thought earlier, but compared with later situations, its picture remains much more modest and the term Dark Age, borrowed from similar period after the fall of the West Roman Empire, is at least better than other names given to this period. The relative chronology seems to be rather

19 First published in *Gnomon* 81, 2009, 86–88.

well established, even if nuances may still be a subject of discussions, and for quite exact dates we have to await more dendrology dates; the attempt to shift the beginnings of the Protogeometric pottery style slightly back by K. Wardle on the base of one C14 date has to be proved by further study; both dates, ca. 1050 or ca. 1025 may still be held. Thanks to the investigations of R. W. Catling on North Greek Protogeometric we know now more about the early style in the north, and Coulson's Dark Age I is very likely contemporary with Submycenaean to Early Protogeometric (pp. 18–25). Attic Submycenaean cemeteries must have lasted at least two generations, and the period ca. 1100–1050/30 is less difficult than other solutions.

The second chapter deals with the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation in the 13th to 12th century. D. here quotes a number of opinions, which may be at the first sight contradictory, but in better known history there is never only one cause and one effect, and the collapse of any civilisation had usually more reasons acting parallel. More sites were fortified in the 13th century, even if not having the Cyclopean walls like Tiryns, Mycenae, Dendra and Athens, but Cyclopean was also the wall across the isthmus and the latter supposes danger coming from the north, similarly, like the pictorial representations of barbarians in the Pylos frescoes. Relations with the East existed on larger scale than believed earlier; the rulers of III C kingdoms apparently pretended to be the legitimate successors of earlier dynasties. The situation changed several times, but the European weaponry and armour taken over in later part of III B together with the fibulae of NW Balkan invention and specific Barbarian Ware hand-made pottery comparable with the Adriatic area are much more strong evidence of mighty foreigners than we have on the Visigoths in Spain or Vandals in North Africa. Only those without knowledge of the Balkan and North Italian archaeology could be opposite to this explanation. The new cereals and new cattle in Nichoria and in the north (Kastanas, Assiros) are other arguments for this. But of course the climatic worsening with less precipitation and bad crops was another reason, also the cattle and goats/sheep were affected. The collapse of international state trade systems, which enabled enough copper and tin, was also endangered by the situation with barbarian bands, called mainly Sea Peoples, or probably also Pelasgoi in Greek historical tradition. D. argues against more centralized principalities, (p. 33 and elsewhere), and it seems to be so when compared with the Near Eastern empires, but the view from prehistoric Europe would show that the Mycenaean ruling systems were on much higher level already. The Uluburun wreck shows that the large-scale trade was still centralized affair and the traders, like Sinaranu of Ugarit, were still royal agents; the change which enabled more space for private merchants was not achieved until later.

C. Eric H. Cline, 1177 BC. *The Year Civilisation Collapsed*, Princeton University Press 2014, 237 pp., 11 figs., two tables, dedicated to James Muhly.²⁰

Happily the book is more serious than its journalistic title. The prologue of the book is a kind of introduction to the central subject devoted to the Sea Peoples and their main attack on Egypt in early 12th century BC. The first chapter returns to the 15th century BC, starts with the Hyksos and the Mari archives, from these the text follows to Hammurabi and back to the Minoans, notably to those depicted in Egyptian tombs of the upper middle class; other paragraphs are on the Megiddo battle 1479 BC, on Mitanni and the Hittites, the end on the Mycenaeans. The second chapter on the 14th century starts with Amenhotep III and his Aegean list, much attraction has of course Amarna, but also Cyprus-Alašia and the rise of Assyria; the remaining paragraphs are devoted to the Hittite kingdom and its relations with the Mycenaeans. The chapter III deals with the Uluburun shipwreck, exodus of the Jews from Egypt, wars of the 13th century, including the supposed upper date of the Trojan War and with the battle in Kadesh. Chapter V returns to the twelfth century, to the core of his story. The whole volume covers the field of several thick books of Bronze Age history, the extensive bibliography documents wide readings of the author. For the general reader it is interesting to see that the empires, kingdoms and cities were already at this early time interconnected by trade, politics with wars and alliances, confirmed by intermarriages. He would welcome several new raisins of texts showing that even the knowledge of Minoans and Mycenaeans in Egypt, with the Hittites and in the Levant, was deeper than supposed by sceptics, but already supposed by optimists on the base of analysis of non-textual sources. This concerns even the problem of the Sea Peoples, a subject to which after excellent studies notably by N. Sandars,²¹ T. Dothan²² and more recently by A. Yasur-Landau,²³ together with S. Wachsmann,²⁴ brought important well-thought books and papers besides a number of other specialists, including the author of the book under review.²⁵

With the rising amount of information it becomes more and more difficult to understand all specific problems and not all scholars are able to write for broader public; very narrow specialisation loses understanding of general synthesis, so even less deep surveys are useful. The book under review is strong when new names or clear facts are available, less so, where

20 Gnomon, in print.

21 N. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples, Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean*, 1985.

22 Esp. T. Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*, 1982; Dothan 1992; Drews 1993.

23 Esp. Yasur-Landau 2010: *The Philistines and the Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age* and Oren, ed. 2000: *The Sea Peoples and Their World, A Reassessment*.

24 Cf. esp. his last book, Wachsmann 2013: *The Gurob Ship-Cart Model and Its Mediterranean Context*.

25 Cf. Killebrew – Lehmann 2013: *The Philistines and Other Sea Peoples*.

only opinions are quoted without competence on the level of the *fontes*, as in stratigraphy in excavated sites, in artistic relations concerning architecture, sculpture, wall paintings, which had much in common even in aspects of religions, as well as at the levels of the rulers and courts, of merchants and trade (weight and measure units, prices) and notably in interpreting of archaeological features as pottery styles and classes, small objects of bronze and stone, their analyses, or in the fields beyond the Eastern Mediterranean, like Bronze Age Europe, the traces of which in the Mediterranean may seem to be marginal (Vianello, ed. 2011).

Migrations from northern Italy, the Adriatic, NW and SE Balkans were of similar extent and importance for the following history as the Great Migration Period and time is ripe to refuse the ghost of superficial ideological critics that some facts and evidence of European immigrants in Greece were once abused by Nazi propaganda.²⁶ The Trojan Grey Ware came to Cyprus and the Levant apparently with some people. The Barbarian Ware in Greece and Cyprus derives from the Adriatic, Trojan Knobbed Ware and Early Phrygian from the Balkans, The Naue II swords and lanceolate spearheads were invented in NW Balkans and they came as far as to Cyprus, Syria and Egypt; the bird protomae on Sea Peoples ships at Medinet Habu derive from the Urnfield *Sonnenbarke*, and the armour of sheet bronze of Goliath is of Central European origin similar as that of Kaloriziki. The violin-bow and bow fibulae came to Italy, Greece and the Levant from where they were invented, in NW Balkans and NE Italy, the peplos dress fastened with two long pins on shoulders and the pyramidal loom weights from roughly the same area (cf. AAE 161–167), as well as some aspects of religious movement. The illustrations are extremely limited generally out of fear of being sued. I remember still Illustrated London News, archaeological section and other handbooks with good illustrations, which are missing nowadays due to parasitic laws of authorship property nourishing parasitic attorneys.

History and archaeology belong into the realm of narratives under the Muse Klio; they are obliged to attempt telling stories respecting the facts for other experts and for other readers; also necessary for financing any project in which broader public must be interested. Popularisation is useful, but vulgarisation dangerous. Exodus from Egypt, Sea Peoples and Homer with Trojan War, are evergreen subjects also serving as emotional education, the discussion of earlier collapses may easily become part of nowadays propagation of fear and despair. The K and K controversy, Homer from Cilicia, amateurish discussions of the Exodus, Thera and Atlantis, if discussed without competence create ghost pseudoproblems further abused. Advertising the market ware of *infotainment* of tourist industry brings more negative than

26 Cf. J. Bouzek, AAE, GAE. Larger areas of contacts Deshayes 1960; Chernykh 1977; Bouzek 1971.

positive results. The position of geographer of Exupéry's *Little Prince* does not reach the autopsy of direct access to the knowledge. Still, the book under review happily escaped *Skylla* of newspeak pride and *Charybdis* of vague entertainment. Though not quite competent enough in all fields discussed, it tries honestly to inform larger public in a way it would listen. For number of reasons it is a useful book and deserves to be widely read.

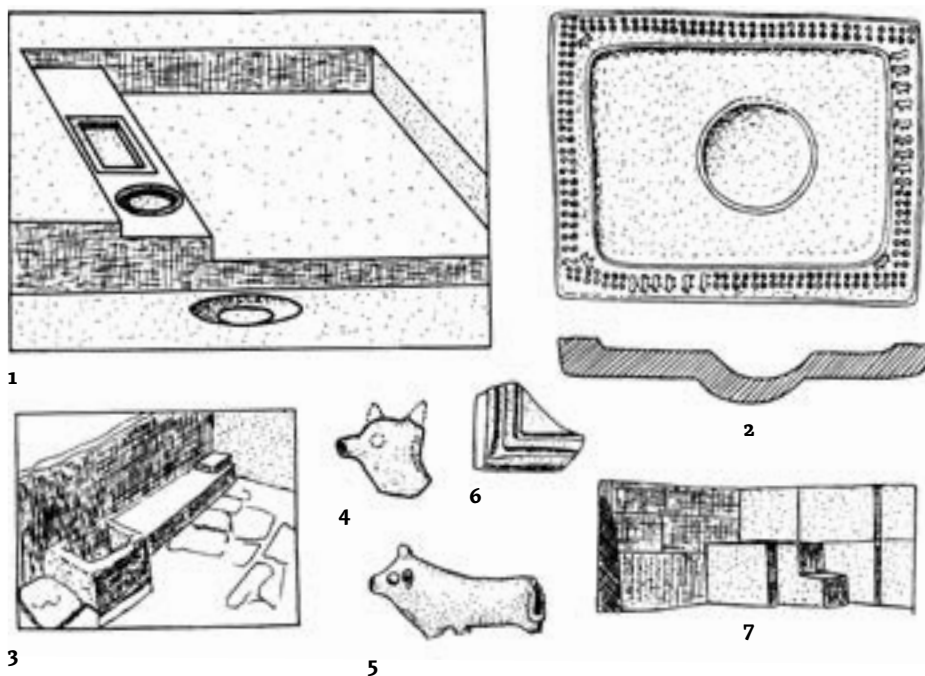


Fig. 1: Altars, libation tables and bull rhytons. 1, 4 and 6 Uherský Brod, Moravia, MBA, 2-3, 7 Phaestus, libation table and sanctuary (?) in the front of the main staircase of the palace, altar (?), 5 Koumasa. After AAE.



Fig. 2: Bone discs (6-7), cylinders (1-5, 9-10) and cheek piece of bridle (8) incised by compass, 1-2, 8 Vattina, 3 Tiszafüred, 4-5 Blučina, 6 Kakovatos, 7 Tószeg, 9-10 Tell Atchana. After Bouzek 1966.

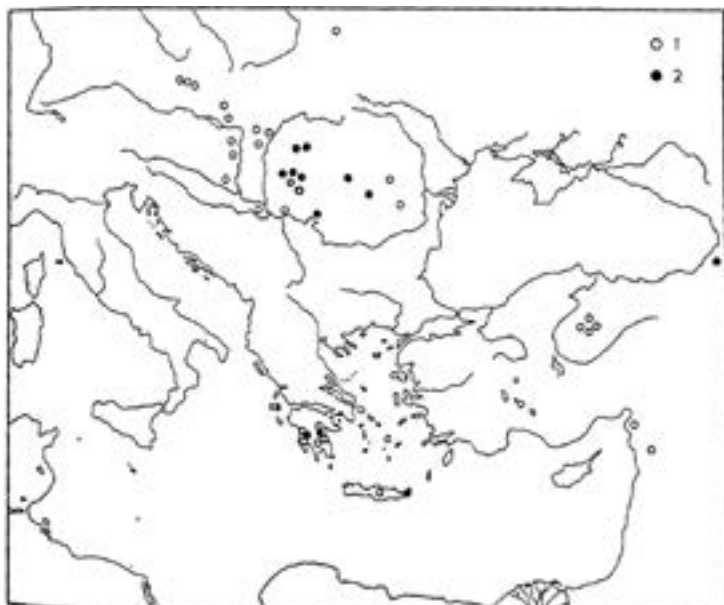


Fig. 3: Distribution of spiral decoration, 1 bone objects decorated with compass, 2 gold discs. After AAE, additions.

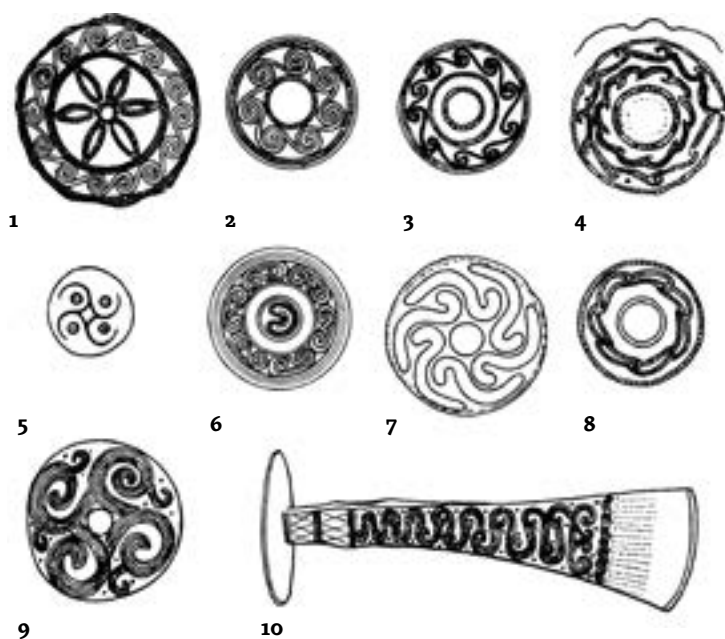


Fig. 4: Gold discs from Mycenae and the Carpathian basin. 1, 5-7 Mycenae, 2 Tufalau, 3-4 and 8 Székelyhid, 9-10 bronze axe of the Transylvanian type I. After AAE.

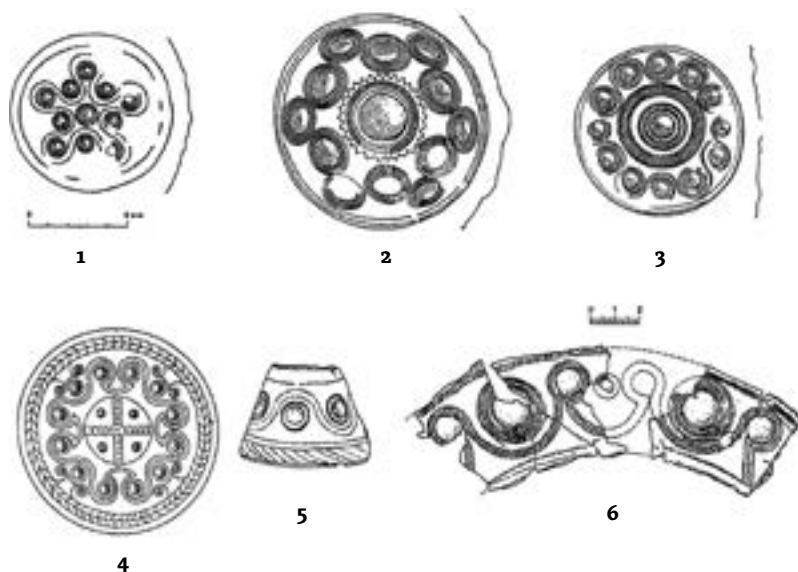


Fig. 5: Sheet gold roundels. 1 Milínov, 2 Sedlec-Hůrka, tumulus 29, grave 3, 3 Nová Huť (after V. Čtrnáct and J. Čujanová), 4 Roccavecchia, North Italy, 5 Tiryns, 6 Delos, treasury under the Artemision.

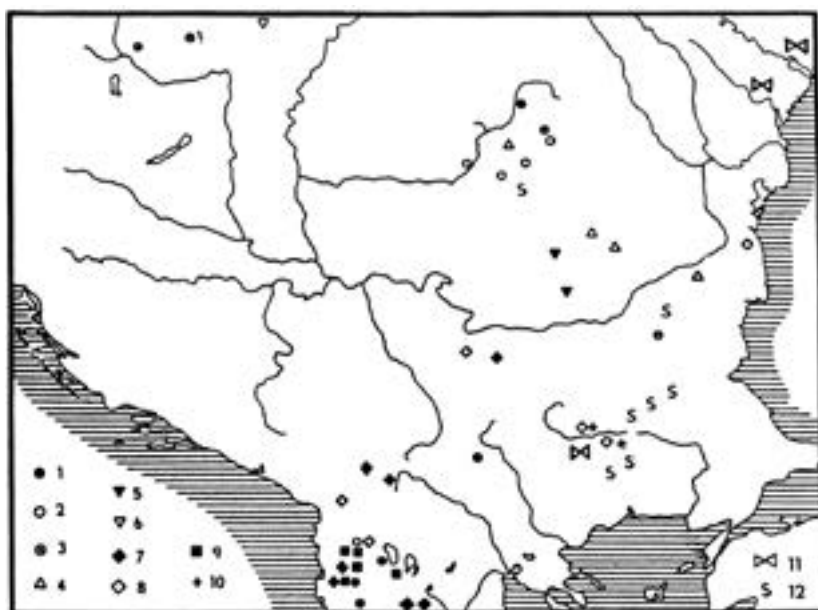


Fig. 6: Distribution of Mycenaean weapons and tools north of the Aegean. 1–3 Karo A and related swords, 4 fragments, 5 Persinari and Roşie-de Vede swords, 6 Spišský Štvrtok mould, 7–8 Sandars D swords and their Balkan imitations, 9 Aegean Sandars D-E swords and imitations, 10 Mycenaean spearheads and imitations, 11 double axes of Mycenaean shape, 12 LBA “royal” sceptres.

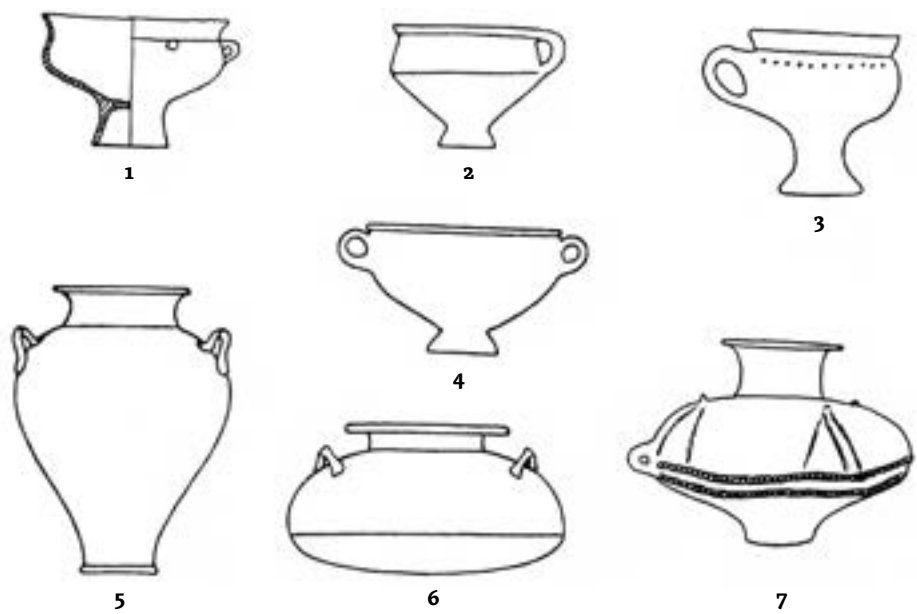


Fig. 7: Pottery shapes: Middle Helladic, Asine (3), Mycenaean (4–6) and MBA Central European Tumulus culture (1 Mochov, Bohemia, 7 Steinbrunn, Lower Austria).

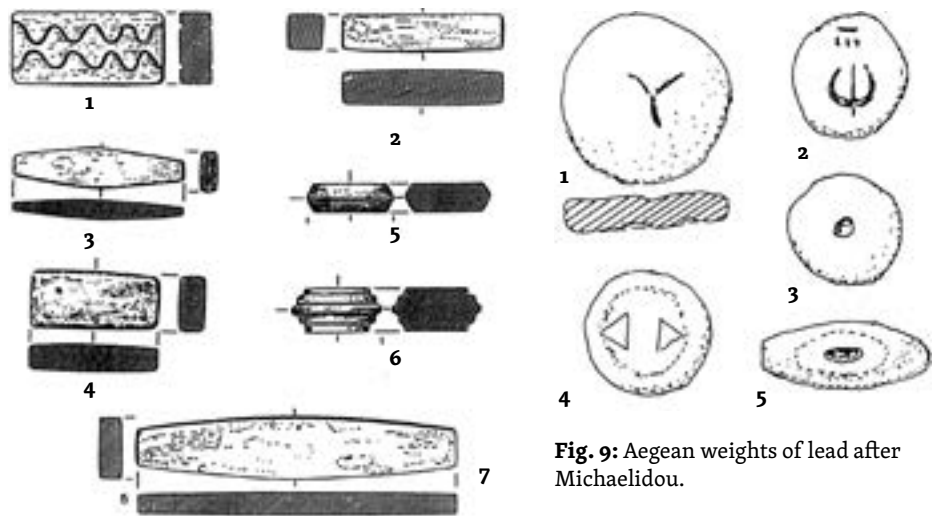


Fig. 9: Aegean weights of lead after Michaelidou.

Fig. 8: Examples of weights in Central and West European Middle to Late Bronze Age.
1–2, 7 Richemont, Pépeville, Dépt. Moselle;
3–6 Steinfurth, Wetteraukreis. After Pare 1999,
drawing A. Waldhauserová.

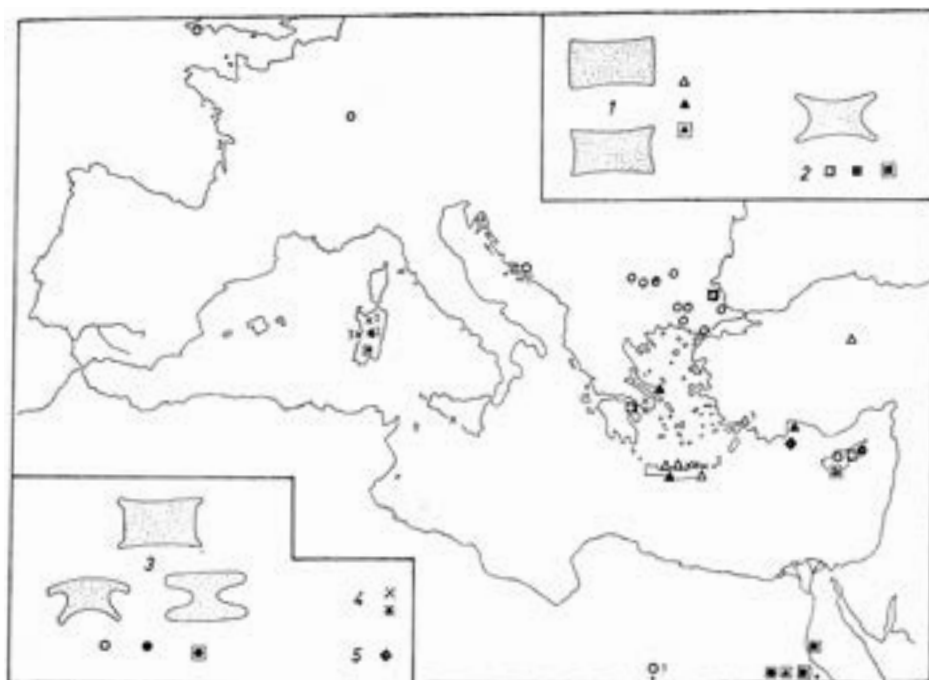


Fig. 10: Oxhide ingots in the Mediterranean and in Europe. 1 early (ca. 1500 BC), 2 middle (ca. 1400 BC), late (ca. 1200 BC), hollow mark single pieces, full hoards, framed representations, small marks fragments in Bulgaria and near Stuttgart, cf. also ch. 3.5.

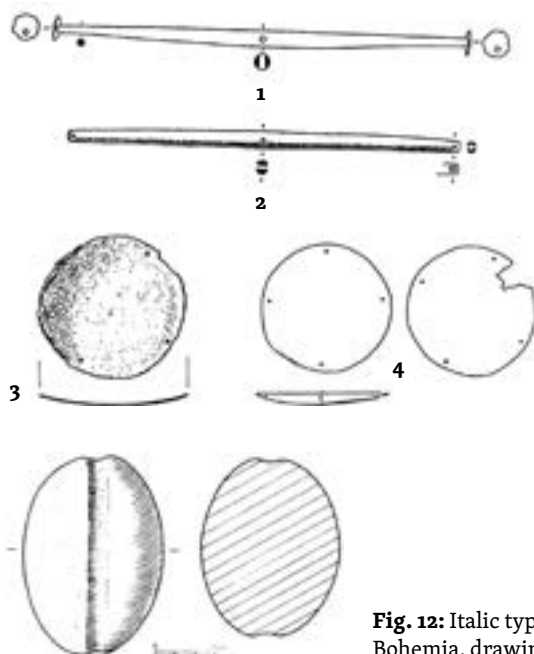


Fig. 11: Examples of beams and dishes of balances. 1 Maolles-sur-Seine, Dépt. Seine et Marne, 2 Bordjoš, Banat (bone), 3 Susa, 4 Cyprus. After Pare 1999, drawing A. Waldhauserová.

Fig. 12: Italic type of stone weight from Vikletice, Bohemia, drawing A. Waldhauserová.

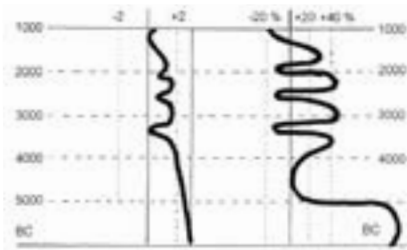


Fig. 13: Climatic changes, LBA-EIA, temperature and precipitation.

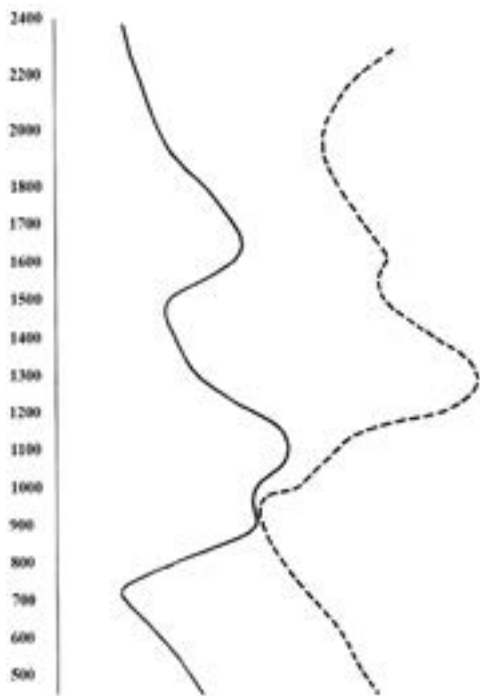


Fig. 14: Generalized relation of development of density of population, Bohemia and Greece.

PART 2: LATE HELLADIC III C

2.1 LH III C: A SURVEY

Mycenaean Greece (cf. HG 16–80; GAE 19–47) can be approached either in the frame of the general history of the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe of the same time, or through later tradition (Deger-Jalkotzy – Lemos, eds. 2006; Dickinson 2006; Eder 1998; Middleton 2010).

The Mycenaean civilisation was similar in its bureaucracy to the smaller Near Eastern states of the Late Bronze Age further East. It was also considered as a kind of political and economic entity by the Hittites and in Egypt. For both these empires it was far away to get involved more directly, for the pre-Phoenician cities in the Levant and for Cypriots it represented a trade partner for rare goods. The larger trade was in royal hands mainly in all these areas, and some exchange of gifts and representation was necessary everywhere.

For the more barbarian neighbours in the Central Mediterranean the contacts with the former was also of some interest, and their ships were not unwelcome there. For the peoples more to the north the Mycenaeans were admired models for their own aristocracy, for their weaponry, crafts and techniques. They apparently shared with them some religious beliefs. Some knowledge of distant sanctuaries existed, accessible to pilgrims from distant countries as well. Though only few people made long journeys, the raw substances were traded long-way, as the Phoenician glass and even the easily transportable glass beads, the Alpine and Transylvanian copper, the British tin, Baltic amber were traded and also the Transylvanian gold, known already from the Shaft Graves. Metals were what for us the crude oil is. Who wanted it, had to develop even more distant distribution links to get the metal.

The Mycenaean bureaucracy was not everywhere in Greece. I remember the F. Dakoronia cemetery in Marmara (Dakoronia 1987) long considered by some to be Early Helladic, and something like return of the Middle Helladic tradition in the south after the fall of the Mycenaean states, as mentioned on several occasions by Hiller and Snodgrass, may not be far from the truth. The position of the Mycenaean confederacy on the margins of that time “civilized”

world made it more exposed to the barbarian neighbours. According to what is known from the tablets and archaeology, the system resembled of what is better known from the Hittite sources. But the unity of pottery style in LH II A 2 and LH III B seems to show that the central authority of Mycenae was recognized (Mountjoy 1995), or while the local rulers had much autonomy; LH III C pottery is more regional. Already in late 14th century the Mycenaeans started to build mighty forts and sophisticated roads for light chariots mainly for military purposes. Against whom they were built? Of course a kind of stasis probably existed; already the Shaft Graves skeletons showed that the war and fighting was part of the life of the elite.

The main East Peloponnesian centres were seriously hit by two earthquakes, in mid 13th and one at the end of that century. A wall across isthmus was built to defend the Peloponnese (Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006) against a stronger enemy from the north.

LH IIIC AND THE NORTH AND NORTHWEST

The Cypriot copper ingots are known from the Black Sea, Sardinia and Suebia (AAE, 19–21; Lichardus et alii 2001, 160–167; here **figs. 10, 73–75**), while the Makarska ingot has been shown to come from Cyprus and the miniatures from Croatian hoards are only distant reflections of the shape. Mycenaean Bronze Age weight units have been respected in large parts of prehistoric Europe, being replaced only in the 12th century BC by Near Eastern shekels (Pare 1999; Bouzek 2004a; Michailidou, ed. 2001a, here pp. 18–19, 22). Even if the weights were of different materials, the weight units were the same.

As the traditional date of the Trojan War was in the 12th century BC, the previous Trojan War, in which also Heracles participated, was in its mythological date several generations earlier. Heracles also took part in the mythical history of the Argonauts, the earliest Greek heroic legend on the Black Sea and Adriatic contacts of Greek heroes (Rossignoli 2001). It may well be placed in the Shaft Graves period, i.e. roughly towards the end of the Central European Early Bronze Age; according to the contemporary chronology in the 17th century BC approximately. The Argonauts returned to Greece via Danube, Sava/Drava and *Caput Adriae*, these rivers and the northern end of the Adriatic Sea were also the extreme north of the inhabitable land in the geography of Early Greek mythologies (Shefton 2001; Schauer, ed. 1996; esp. Delpino 1995; Bouzek 2007d; Borgna 1999).

The Adriatic area was marked archaeologically by a certain *koine* during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, though its Middle Bronze Age predecessor also existed. As well known since Merhart's studies, the area of the NW Balkans and around the eastern Alps was the territory in which the Sprockhoff I and IIa flange-hilted swords emerged, together with the earliest sheet

armour and probably also the lanceolate spearheads. This armour arose from some Aegean inspiration and it penetrated later in the Aegean and to Cyprus. The Adriatic was very probably one of the routes through which the Central Europeans participated in the Sea Peoples movements (AAE, 92–152). Their symbols were related to those in northern Europe (**figs. 5, 8, 15, 43**): symbols of wheel, sun, ship and birds were the most common. But most important centre of origin of the new style of bronzework, weaponry and fashion, was in the NW Balkans (Alran-Stern and Nightingale, eds. 2007; Hansen 2005).

The bird protomae on the prows of ships of the Sea Peoples and the birds on LH III C vases in Greece (**figs. 8, 14, 43**), Cyprus and on the Philistine vases in Palestine derived from the *koine* of symbols typical for Central Europe and for Scandinavia (Kaul 2002; AAE 176–180, GAE, 34–44). The Philistines are among the best candidates for the Central European participation of the Sea Peoples movement. Still Goliath wore typical “European” armour of sheet bronze (I. Sam. 17, 6). On the other hand, the Macedonian Lausitz Ware is best comparable with the pottery known around the eastern Alps and from Croatia, from where its bearers probably came (AAE, 190–192, here **figs. 6, 27**). Two shapes of razors are typical for the same area of NE Italy and the NW Balkans. The earlier variety shaped like the double-axe are of Aegean inspiration, the lunar items mark in their distribution pattern the Amber Route northwards until Silesia (**figs. 101, 103**; AAE, 216–18; GAE, 232–237; Frey 1995). From the same centre around the NE Balkans the discovery came of the violin-bow fibulae¹ and of very long pins of the fashion of Central European and Balkan elites of Br. C2–D (cf. AAE 152–168), used to fix the feminine peplos on the shoulders. Violin-bow fibulae (**fig. 16**) show roughly the same distribution pattern as the weapons and armour and they originated in the same area around the NE tip of the Adriatic Sea.² The distribution of spectacle fibulae follows a similar pattern, but more to the east and they are generally later (**fig. 53**). Cf. also Jockenhövel 2011.

The LBA *koine* of weaponry belonged to later 13th–11th century BC (**fig. 24**).³ The weaponry of LH III B 2 shows that the Mycenaean armies adopted some impulses of Central European origin, and even more so after 1200 BC⁴ The first “wave” of them belongs to LH III B 2 (**figs. 21, 33**), the

1 The one-piece fibulae became popular only in the southern part of Central Europe; more to the north the two-piece fibulae with separate pin were worn.

2 Cf. AAE 152–160; for the northern Adriatic esp. van Eles Masi 1986, pl. 1–3 violin bow, pl. 3–12 simple bow; Glogović 2003; Vasić 1999, violin bow pl. 61, simple bow pl. 63, pl. 62 spectacle.

3 The third and fourth belong to Late Urnfields and to the Early Hallstatt culture of Ha C 1 (cf. HG 92–95, AAE 19–144, GAE 104–107).

4 Cf. HG 80–88; AAE 92–116; GAE 91–108. Newly S. Parst, Naue II Schwerter mit Knaufzunge und die Aussenbeziehungen der mykenischen Kriegerschicht in den postpalatialen Zeit, Jb. RGZM 60, 2013, 105–152 has shown well the area from which this “wave” came in NW Balkans in the maps of distribution of Sprockhof IIb swords and Peschiera fibulae.

second to LH III C early and middle (**figs. 9, 51**); the “European” finds from Crete and the Cyclades are closer to those from Italy, the mainland group to those from the NW Balkans (cf. HG 33–43, 93–95; AAE 95–142, GAE 97–106; Kilian K. 2007). The common Sprockhoff IIa swords are distributed from Scandinavia to Cyprus and the Levant (**fig. 17**, cf. **pls. B 16.1–2** and **3**), the later IIB is less common (**fig. 23**, AAE 119–130). With them go “geflamnte” spearheads (AAE 132–142 2, **pl. B 16.2**) and armour consisting of helmet, corselet and greaves, with distribution area from eastern France to the eastern frontier of Poland and Romania (AAE 92–117, here **fig. 24**). The Kaloriziki shield (**fig. 29.1**) is more probably neck plate of corselet, cf. **fig. 30**) and the suggested Br D early date of the Jíkalka shield (**fig. 29.4**) is doubted by some.⁵

The Barbarian ware shows that some alien population appeared on the Mycenaean territory with other preferences of its cooking habits and household ceramics. The former seems to suggest that very probably mercenaries from the “northwest” were already serving in the Mycenaean army, the second that some alien elements were already allowed to settle on the Mycenaean territories (AAE 87–90; Kilian K. 2007). One link leads to Italy, the other to the western Balkans, as do the relations of Mycenaean weaponry in late 13th and 12th century, among which two main schools can be distinguished.⁶ Since the beginnings of written reports in Greece, Adriatic was known as an area of Illyrian supremacy (cf. Mihovilić 2004; Nava 2004), but amber relay trade was well organized on religious pattern (Herod. IV, 33–35). The amber trade with the north was in Illyrian hands during the Early Iron Age, transmitted by them to the Etruscans and the Greeks.

The climatic crisis leading to droughts (cf. ch. 8.1) in the Mediterranean favoured the temperate zone of Europe, where the population increased, but later on, in drying steppe-like areas it led to crises (Bouzek 2011c, 48–55). These peoples or some elite of them had some knowledge about the riches of the south, went there, served there as allies—mercenaries and after some time, being no more content with their submitted position in the country, in which they were allowed to settle, took over the power; LH III C early and middle had several autonomous centres (Bouzek 2011c; Mountjoy 1995; Dickinson 2006).

At the end of the 13th century there were apparently many groups of such bands, called in Egypt Sea Peoples. Egyptian sources wondered that they could act jointly in their campaigns and that—even if only few of them had more important nautical background—they could built within a short time a naval force of considerable strength, able to destroy the more sophisticated

5 Cf. J. Bouzek 1971a and, RDAC. The simple ribs of the Jíkalka shield are very similar to Ha B 3 Herzprung shields in the north, but they all are of very thin sheet, while the Jíkalka piece is much thicker and cast, in its character similar to heavy wheels of Br D chariots. Cf. Kytlicová 1986, 2007; Uckelmann 2012; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993; Bader 1991.

6 Cf. AAE 182–196, GAE 79–90 and the next chapter.

fleets of the East Mediterranean states and empires (cf. Sandars 1985a; Oren, ed. 2000; Cline 2014).

Some groups from SE part of Central Europe arrived at least to Macedonia, where their so-called Lausitz Ware derived from that of the Čaka culture in SW Slovakia (**fig. 27**) and western Hungary (AAE 190–191). The Balkan tribes invaded Troad (Bithynia, Mysia) and Phrygia. The former had their previous roots in northern and eastern Thrace, the latter more westwards, in the area of later Brygi and Paeonians (HG 66–69, AAE 180–200; GAE 87–100; **fig. 26**).

Some of the warrior groups coming via Italy and also those coming by land settled, in many places they either became the landlords, or developed a kind of symbiosis with the old elites. This situation resembles much what happened at Great Migrations period. Not too many people were needed to create a military force in the small wars. According to the Salic laws, as unauthorized bands were considered those consisting of less than 16 men, the groups of 16 or more men were already classified as armies.

10 000 Vandals founded their empire in North Africa, as did a similar number of Visigoths in Spain; Ostrogoths and Langobards in Italy were also not much more numerous. None of them preserved their language, and their rule was based on some compromise with the earlier traditions on the lower level. Their bands were in the system of *Gefolgschaft* composed of able warriors, in the Great Migration period even after the defeat the good warriors accepted often a new tribal identity.

These groups apparently were too small, and coming with essentially less women than men. They no much chance to preserve their identity for long. Even later the Slavonic migrants became graecised in most parts of southern and central Greece, and the same happened with the Albanians in these territories, not mentioning the descendants of the Franks, Venetians and Genovans. The LBA groups were apparently smaller, but they got their chance in the time of famine and interior struggle.

THE CHANGES IN THE AEGEAN

The LH III C settlements in Crete can be divided in two categories. One of them, with a parallel in Maa on Cyprus, is on the promontories with good access to the sea, while other settlements of refugees protecting themselves in hidden places are founded far off the sea and from the pirates, like the Byzantines in the time of the Arab raids there. Cretan population moved from the coast to defendable sites on hills (Nowicki 2000; Wallace 2010; Niemeyer et al., eds. 2013) to well-protected sites, usually with good visual control over extensive areas, including the sea view. However, even coastal sites existed, such as Vrokastro, Itanos and Palaikastro. The abandonment of many coastal sites towards the end of the Bronze Age is connected with the prevailing dis-

turbed conditions in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the consequent increase of piracy (cf. ch. 3.1).

The short-lived kingdoms of LH III C early remind one of the similar kingdoms of Odoakar, Ostrogots, Huns etc. The new chiefs were happy to be served by local potters and smiths, but only few of them had more feeling for more valuable artistic objects, like those who composed the Tiryns hoard of very different origins, as is also the hoard under the Artemision on Delos. Other groups, like at Perati or Tiryns, preserved more of the traditional identities, as did also the Euboeans and those on Skyros, but there were also new values, little known to earlier Mycenaean, the new architecture construction, substantial changes in iconography and style in domains accessible to us in *corpore*, before all in pottery. In general, the population decreased.

The iconography of LH III C Early and Middle is an interesting synthesis of old tradition and new impulses, taken as well from the East, as from the European tradition. The latter influenced especially the wooden architecture, models of the sacred architecture of later Greece, and the xoana, animal-shaped vases, bosses on pottery (ch. 2.2, **figs. 34–38**), the former enriched the vocabulary by models in faience, bronze vessels and sheets, textiles, ivories and other objects not preserved in *corpore* (cf. here ch. 2.2; further Bouzek, in Mazarakis Ainian, ed. 2011; Guggisberg 1996).

The individual burials at the end of Mycenaean culture show the development of individual personality from the clans with family tombs, the spiral of *retour éternel* was interrupted into isolated circles. The strictly geometric organization of space was only achieved, however, in the PG style. Very smooth transition from Mycenaean to Protogeometric is documented in Elateia in Phokis and at Kalapodi, where the earliest temple dates from LH III C late.⁷

The barbarians were not as many as to impose their group identity in the most areas which they invaded and devastated. Some of them settled in southern Palestine as the Philistines and held their identity longer, some elsewhere in the Levant and apparently also in the Aegean. A number of Greeks fled to Cyprus, the Aeolians and Ionians to the East and North Aegean (at least the foundation of Torone and other sites in the Chalcidice (Tiverios 2008, 4–15) is of the same time roughly as the Ionian cities in Asia Minor). Some other Mycenaean refugees even fled to some places in Italy, even in the Po delta (cf. below).

The Sea Peoples remained in Greek mythical memory mainly in the myth as Pelasgians, of which very little is known, perhaps with the exception of Lemnos and the Adriatic (Briquel 1984).

7 Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 2003 and the conference Aristeia, Volos 2015, contributions by W. D. Niemeyer and F. Dakoronia, in print.

The impoverished land in most of the Peloponnese was taken over by the Dorians, claiming earlier identity as descendants of the Heraclids. In some Dorian cities the previous population did not get the full civic rights, like in Sparta. But even in Laconia and Messenia many links with much more northern countries can be seen—in the wooden architecture, new plants and animal husbandry at Nichoria.

The Lefkandi people may have had similar Middle Helladic roots, as there is a gap between early and middle LH III C in the place of the Toumba (Evely, ed. 2006, overview by S. Sherrat 1992, 303–309). In the Argolid Mycenae and many other sites were nearly abandoned, while Tiryns and Argos survived rather well (Eder 1998; Vanschoonwinkel 1991; Thomatos 2000; Middleton 2010). The Cyclades show also various stories, catastrophes and continuity.⁸ Italic and NW Balkan elements are known from the islands and on the mainland as well.⁹

Long distance maritime expeditions carried exotic items. The Uluburun shipwreck yielded glass ingots of probably Levantine origin (Nicholson 1997). Large part of the raw glass known from Late Bronze Age settlement at Frattesina in North Italy is of Levantine origin (Bietti Sestieri 1984ab; Brill 1992; Henderson 1988),¹⁰ The Dark Age glass beads in Greece and Italy are also in all probability Phoenician products and brought to their destinations by Phoenician merchants.¹¹

Most of the realistic facts and features in the Iliad and Odyssey are taken from the PG period, as already H. L. Lorimer has shown clearly, and the ancient authors situated him best in the 10th century (cf. ch. 5). The name Sidonians for the Phoenicians in the Odyssey would not be out of place. Even Egypt had some Dark Age, for a short time even Tyros, re-founded from Sidon, and the Neo-Hittite cities had also modest period in the 12th and 11th centuries.¹²

8 Cf. esp. *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades*, Papers in Honour of J. J. Coulton by Marina Yeroulanou and Maria Stamatopoulou, BAR IS 1455, 2005; Vlachopoulos, A. – Birtacha, K., eds. 2003.

9 In addition to GAE, 79–120, cf. *Lefkandi IV*, 283–286; cf. for pottery Kilian 1987 and 2002; new discussions of Naue II swords Jb. RGZM 2014, and Molloy, Barry, Naue II swords and the collapse of the Aegean Bronze Age, 115–118, in *SOMA 2003 Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, ed. B. C. Briault, J. Green, A. Kadelis, and A. Steliatou, BAR IS 1391 2005; for earlier bibl. cf. Bouzek AAE 119–145.

10 As are many beads found in Hauterive-Champréveyères in Switzerland and in Stadthallendorf in Germany dating from Late Urnfield period, i.e. from the 10th to 9th centuries BC (Ha B 2–3, Henderson 1993; Lorenz 2006), and also those from Rathgall in Britain of the 9th century BC (mentioned by Brill 1992). Apparently even the technique of producing beads was brought with the raw material, and used also by their pupils according to the Phoenician recipes.

11 Cf. ch. 6.

12 Cf. ch. 5.



Fig. 15: 1-2 LH III seals in the British Museum, after CMS, 3 Thapsos, handle of vessel, 4 clay boat model from Italy, 5 Zemun, Serbia, bronze, 6 Tiryns, 7 Medinet Habu. After AAE, fig. 88.

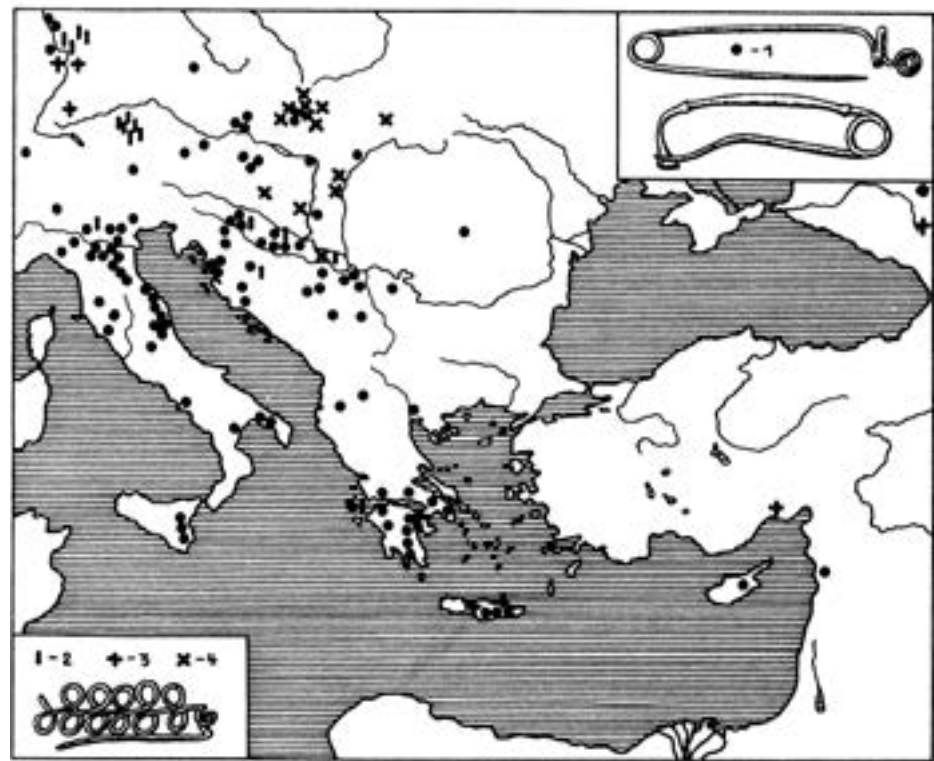


Fig. 16: Schematic map of distribution of violin bow fibulae, after HG, with additions.

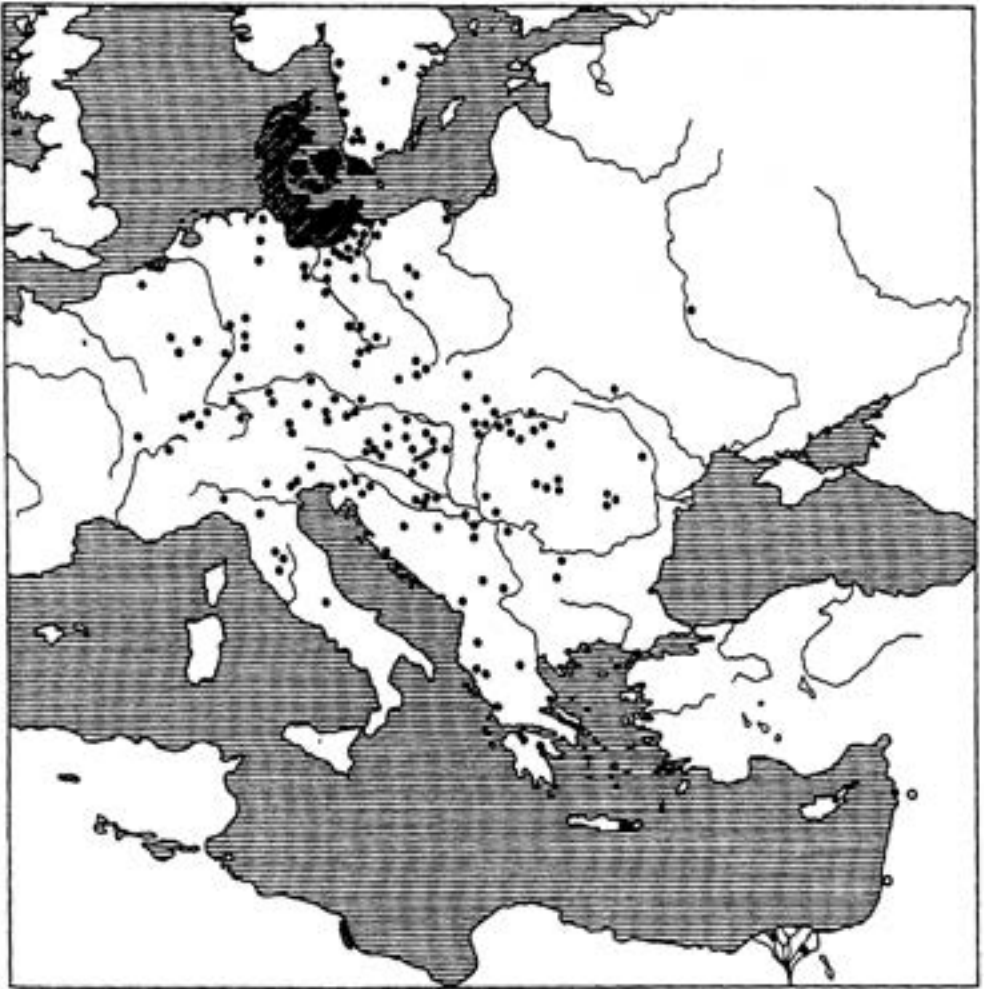


Fig. 17: Map of distribution of Sprockhoff IIa (Reutlingen und related) swords.



Fig. 18: Double birds, horses and bird boats on bronze objects. 1 Emden, Kr. Meppen, 2 Vojens Gaard near Hadersleben, 3 Alstrup, Amt Aalborg, 4 Mehlbeck, Kr. Steinburg, 5 Harsefeld, Kr. Stade, 6 P. Gullev, Amt Aalborg, 7 Åketorp, Åland, 9 near Börstel, Kr. Merseburg, 10 Merseburg. 11–12, 14 decoration of Liptov swords, Slovakia, 13 Emmen, Kr. Meppen, 15 Rossin, Kr. Anklam, 16 Siem, Amt Aalborg, 17 Lislebyfjord, distr. Fredrikstad, 18 O. Billeberga, Schonen. After AAE.

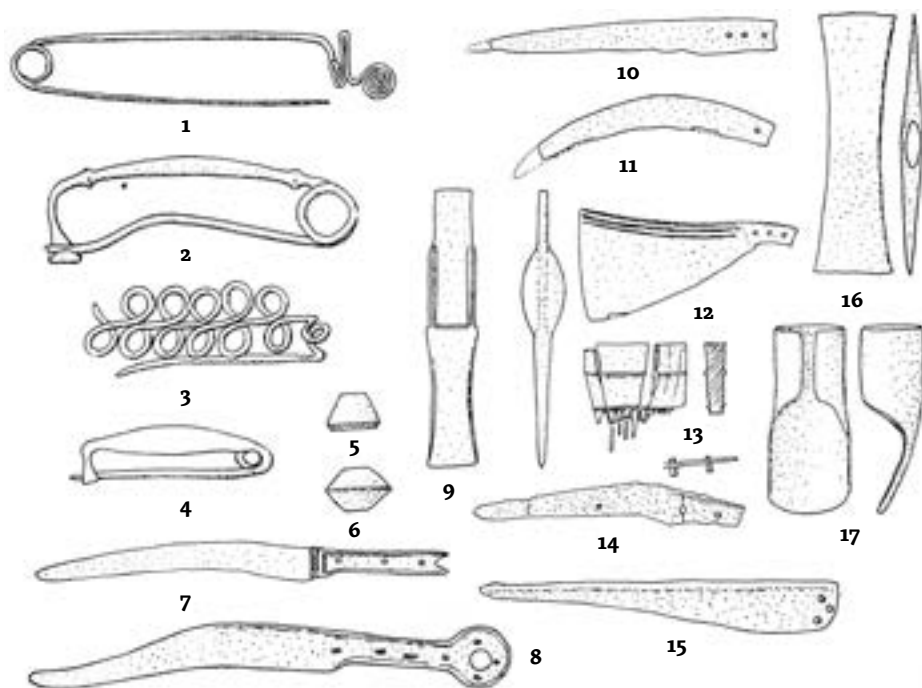


Fig. 19: LH III B-C fibulae, knives and other implements. 1, 16-17 Mycenae, Acropolis, 2 Kos, Langada, 3 Diakata, 4 Lakithra (both Kephallenia), 5-6 LH III C types of stone knobs after Furumark, 7 Dictaeon cave, 8 Ialysos, Rhodes, 9 Mycenae, reconstruction from mould, 10-11 Mycenae, hoard, 10-14 Knossos, Gypsades, 15 Dodona. After AAE.



Fig. 20: Lovčičky, Moravia,
Ha B 1 village, after Říhový 1982.

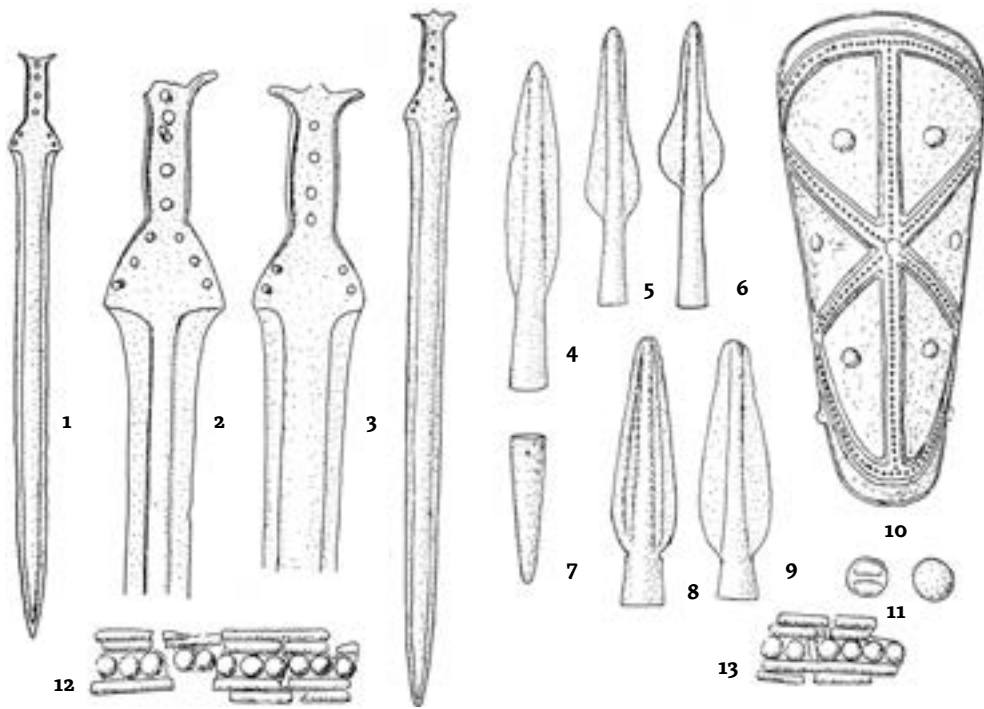


Fig. 21: LH III B-C weapons and armour with northern relations. Swords Sprockhoff IIa, no 1 from the Acropolis, 2-3 Kallithea, graves A and B, 4 and 7 Kallithea grave B, 5-6 Metaxata, 8-9 Langada, Kos, 10-13 Kallithea, grave A, greave and parts of cuirass. After HG.

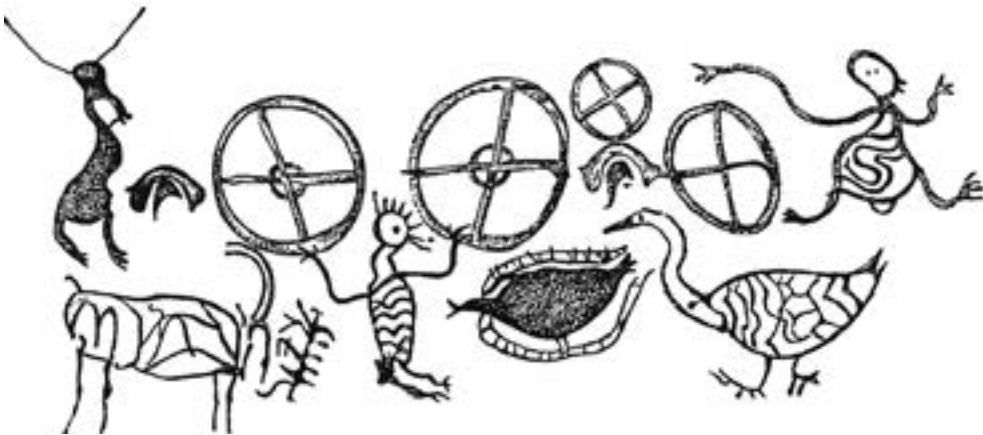


Fig. 22: The "Circus Pot" from Mycenae, after Wace, drawing A. Waldhauserová.

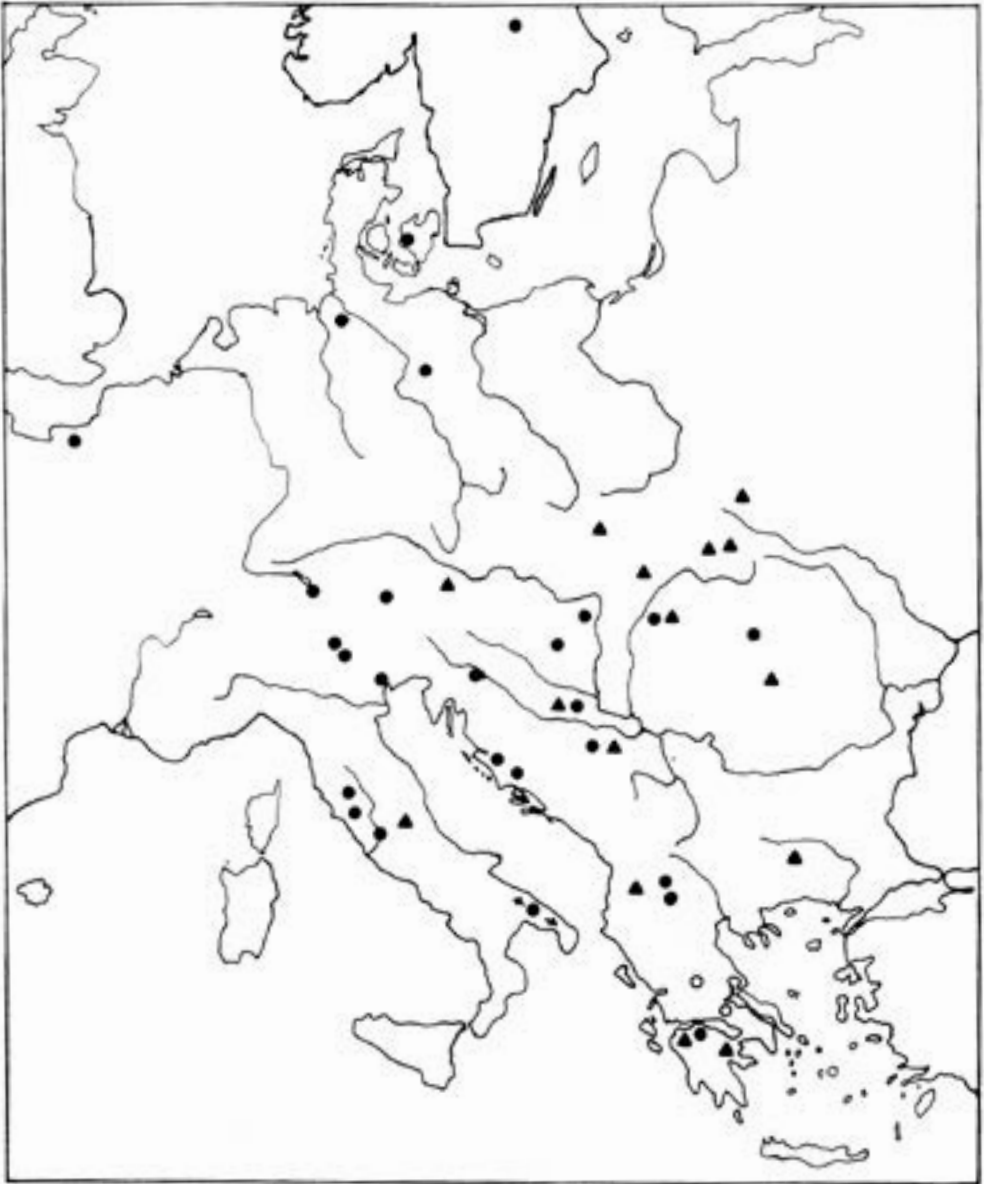


Fig. 23: Map of distribution of Sprockhoff IIb swords. After GAE.

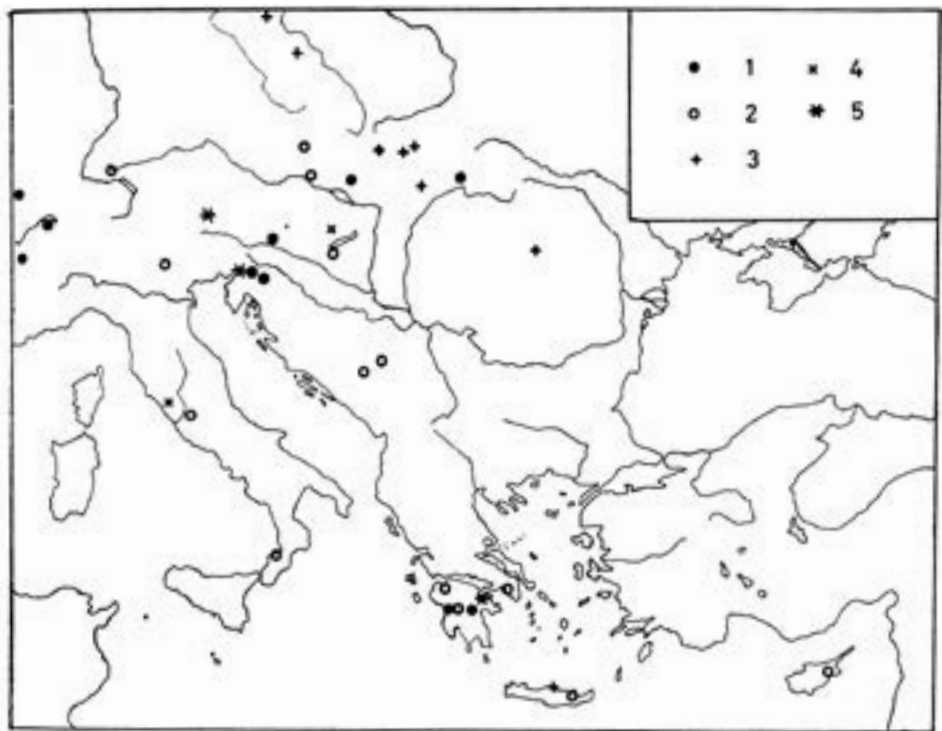


Fig. 24: Map of distribution of bell-shaped corselets (1), greaves (2), conical helmets ad its late variety (3, 4), 5 helmet and corselet from Argos. After AAE.

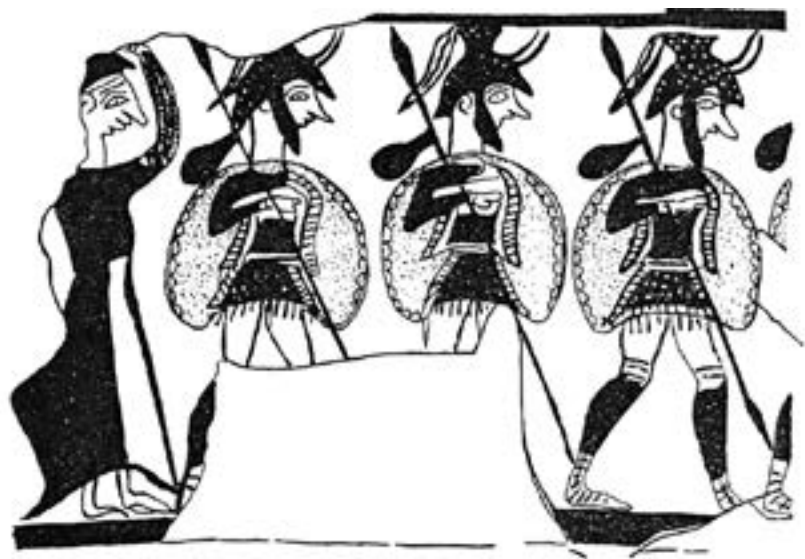


Fig. 25: Depart of warriors, LH III C middle krater from Mycenae.

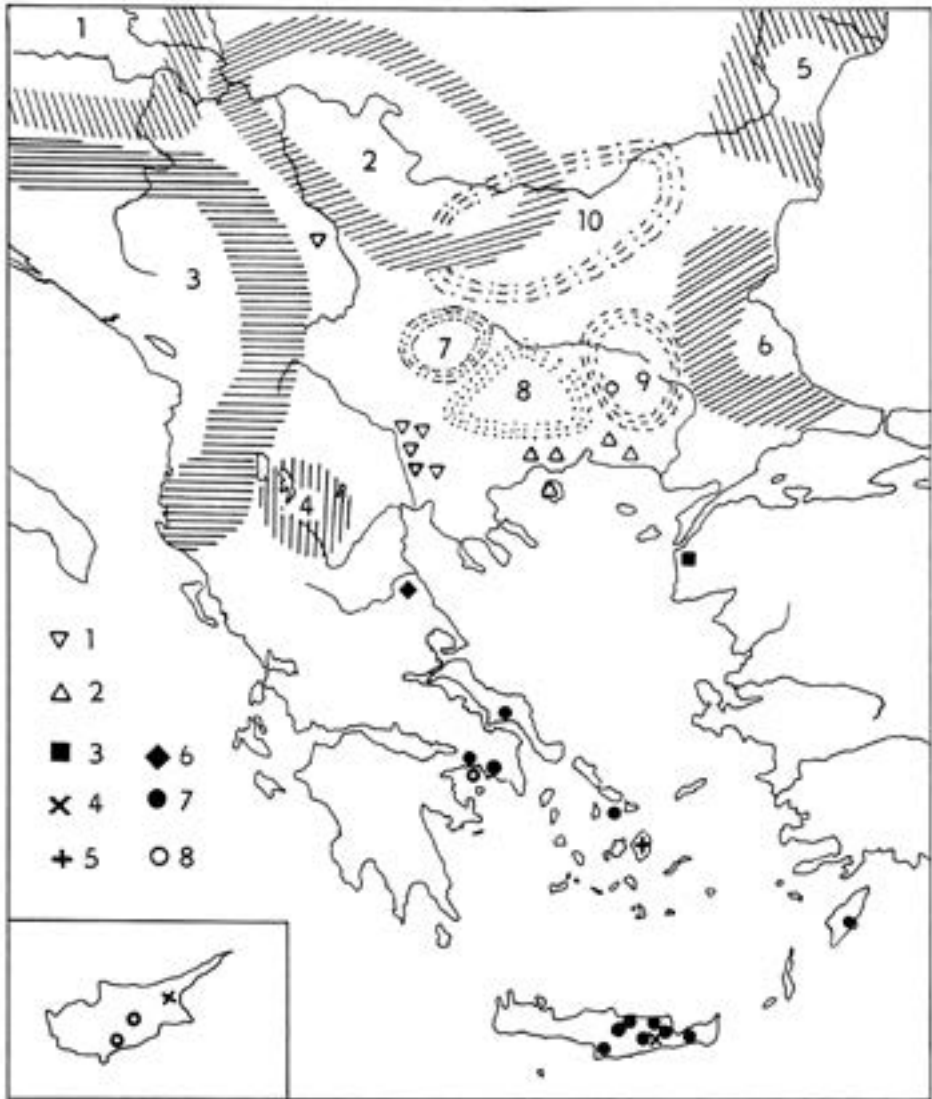


Fig. 26: Ceramic styles of 12–10th century BC 1 Serbian and Croatian Urn fields, 2 Žuto Brdo–Cirna culture, 3 Central Illyrian area, Bobousti Matt-Painted Pottery, 7–9 Bulgarian Incised and stamped wares (7 Sofia group, 8 Cepina, 9 Čatalka and Pšeničevo), 10 Danubian group with fluted pottery prevailing, Commentary: 1 Mediana and Macedonian “Lausitz” ware, 2 coastal Thracian, 3 Thasos, 4 Karphi Incised Ware, with parallel in Cyprus, 5 Naxos Incised Ware, 6 Vergina, Dion and Central Macedonia, 7–8 Attic Incised Ware and related pottery. After AAE.

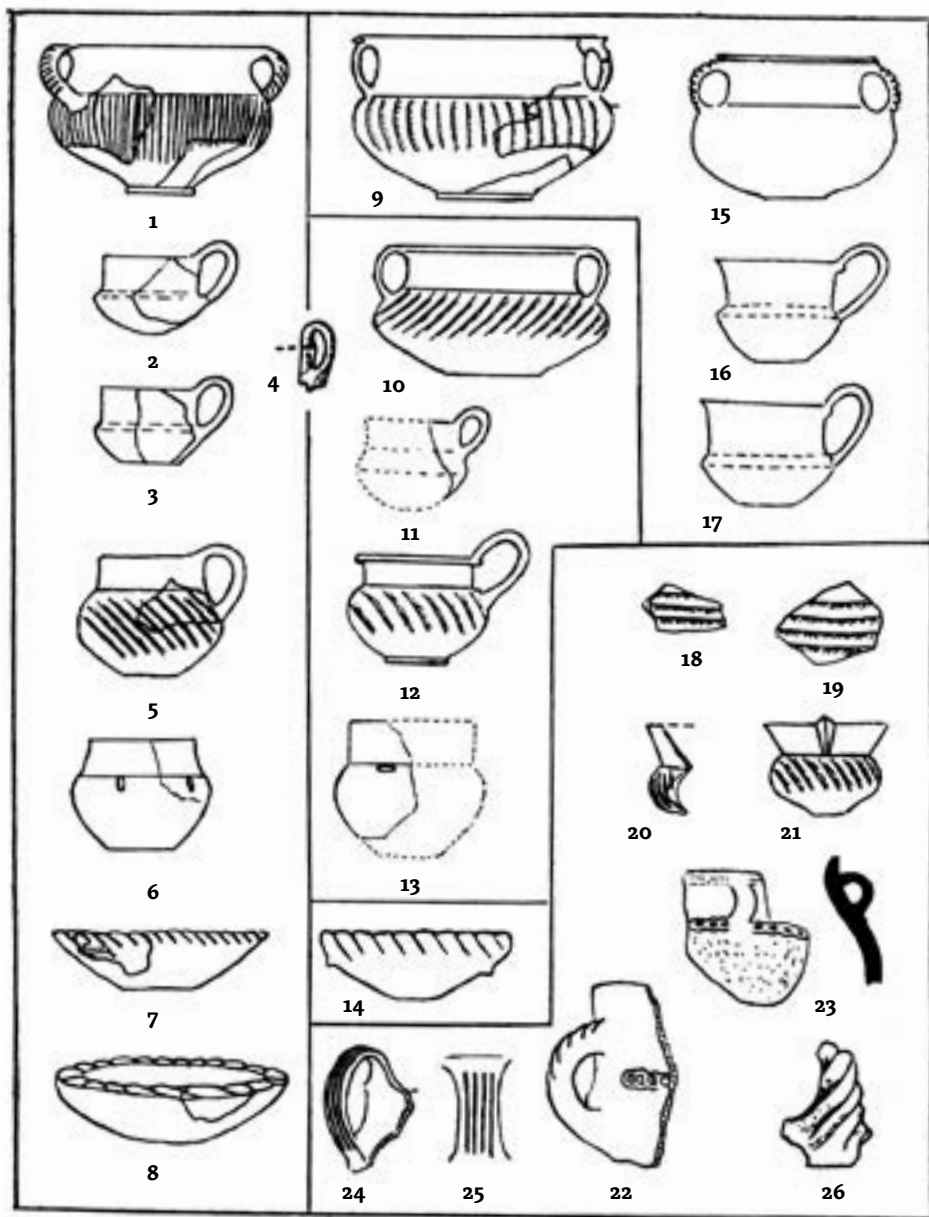


Fig. 27: Macedonian “Lausitz” Ware and parallels in Slovakia and Lower Austria (Čaka–Očkov culture). 1–4, 6, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26 Vardarophtsa, 5, 7–8 Vardina, 9, 10, 12 Čaka, 11, 13 Ipeľský Sokolec, 19 Bajč, 21 Topolčany, 22 Iňa, 16–17 Herzogenburg. After AAE.

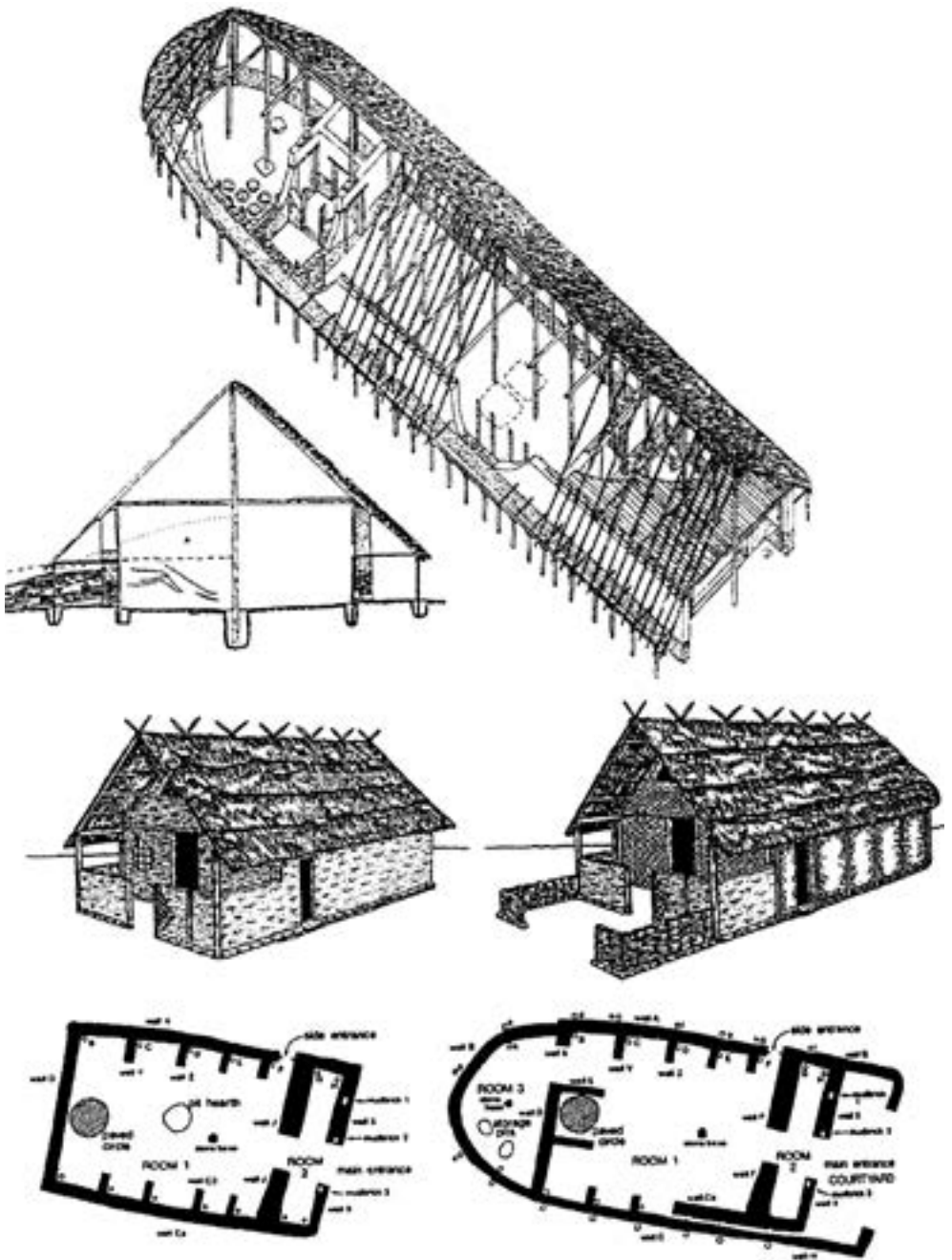


Fig. 28: 1 Lefkandi, heroon, 2-3 houses at Nichoria, after Mazarakis Ainian.

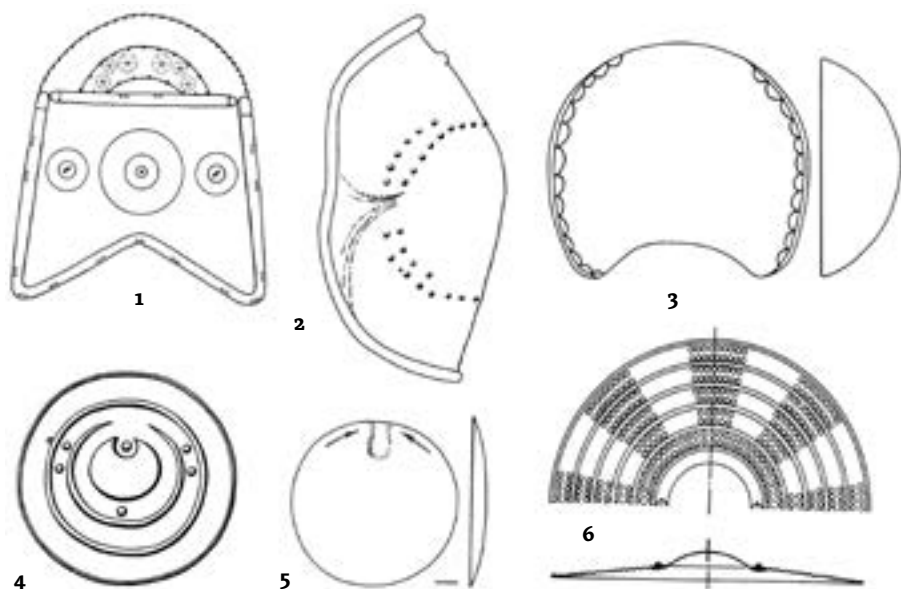


Fig. 29: Shields. 1 Kaloriziki, old reconstruction, 2 bilobal shield from finger ring from Mycenae (“fight in the cave”) 3 Warrior Vase, 4 Plzeň-Jíkalka, 5 the way to produce leather vaulted shield, 6 the Nyírtura shield. After AAE.

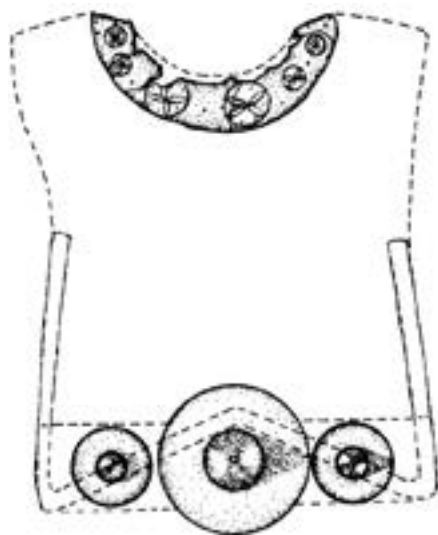


Fig. 30: Kaloriziki reconstructed as corslet, cf. Bouzek 1995.

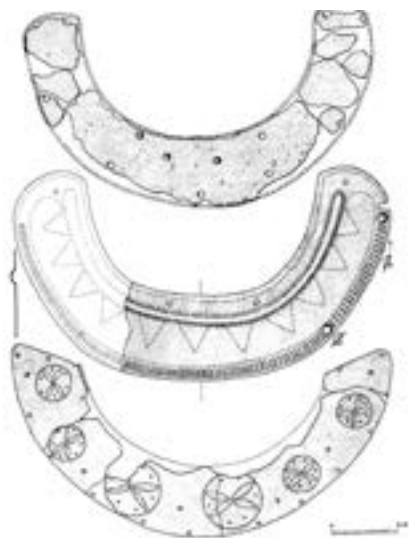


Fig. 31: 1 Milavče, 2 Bavaria, 3 Kaloriziki.

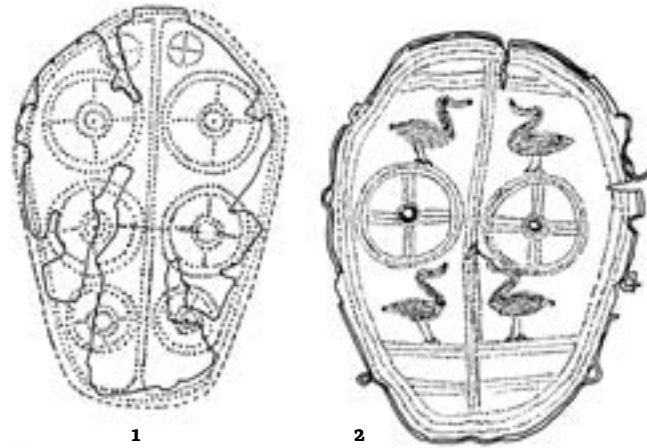


Fig. 32: Greaves. 1 Athens, Acropolis, 2 Rinyasyentkirály, Hungary. After AAE.



Fig. 33: The first horizon of European metal types in the Aegean (LH III B 2—III C early). 1–2 swords Sprockhoff IIa, 3 Peschiera (Psychro) daggers, 4–6 lanceolate and related spearheads, 7 hammer axe, Dodona, 8 “European” knives, 9 knife with ring finial, 10 knives Sandars 6b. After AAE.

2.2 LH III C ICONOGRAPHY: AN INTERIM PERIOD OF ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT IN GREECE

Really significant differences in local styles existed at the beginning and at the end of the development of Mycenaean pottery,¹³ while the styles of LH III A-B were much more unified in a common *koine*. The most interesting, however, is the particular iconography of LH III C. New finds show more clearly how much the iconographical expression of LH III C changed compared to that of the previous periods (cf. Furumark 1941; Crouwel 1991; Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982; Mountjoy 1995). Many motifs and representations apparently express new ideas, even when using old traditional elements of decoration, while other artisans attempted to find another, more adequate expression for new ideas. Some of them had predecessors in Middle Helladic, as Stefan Hiller noted in several of his conference papers (esp. Hiller 1991); they are a kind of parallel to the mythical story of the Return of the Heraclids. Others, however, point to relations to the Levant, while relations with prehistoric Europe can also be traced.

NON-FIGURAL ICONOGRAPHY AND INNOVATIONS

The “Barbarian Ware” was probably made to fit the culinary preferences of people coming from outside Greece. Parallels can be seen in Italy and in the western Balkans; perhaps also in Sardinia. This style of pottery started in LH III B and later was transmitted eastward with the Sea Peoples to Cyprus and to the Levant, including Palestine. Later cooking pots of the Submycenaean to Protogeometric periods in Greece show similar characteristics and apparently developed from the Barbarian Ware tradition (Bouzek 1985, 183–187, now also Hallager 2000, 165f. pl. 51, Badre 2003 with bibl., Kilian K. 2007); it is also known from Cyprus (Pilides 1994). The chemical analysis has shown for some of them South Italian, Sardinian and Adriatic ancestry; others probably came from the Balkans.

13 First published as LH III C Iconography: an interim period of artistic development in Greece, in: Stefanos Aristeios, Festschrift S. Hiller, eds. F. Lang, C. Reinhold, J. Weilhartner, Phoibos Verlag Wien 2007, 49–64. For later development across the Dark Age, cf. J. B., in: The iconography of the Dark Age, From LH III C to Geometric, continuity and change, In: The Dark Ages Revisited, Acts of an international symposium in memory of Willam D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos 14.–17. June 2007, vol. II, Volos University of Thessaly 2011, 983–1003, from which a brief summary is put at the end of this chapter. Cf. also two papers of the author devoted to other aspects of LH III C to Protogeometric in Greece: Bird-Shaped Prows of Boats, Sea Peoples and the Pelasgians, 188–193, in: *Exotica in the Prehistoric Mediterranean*, ed. by A. Vianello, Oxbow Books 2011; Cretan and Attic Incised Ware revisited. In G. Graziadio et alii (eds.): *Φυλική Συνάντηση, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology for Mario Benzi*, BAR IS 2460, 2013, 61–68.

Some new shapes, like FS 240, started in LH III B (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1982), while several decorative elements started in LH III C. Among new features are the bosses on shoulders of closed vases (amphorae and pitchers), apparently showing their sex (GAE, 128f., here **fig. 34**). The humanisation of the world in the Greek anthropocentric attitude is a new phenomenon, especially characteristic for later development of the Greek mind.

The same quality is also expressed in changing proportional relations between the body, neck and foot of vases. In the old Minoan-derived tradition the main element of the vase was the body, to which minor accessories were attached. In LH III C a new approach started towards the later concept of amphorae and pitchers. These were now understood as related to human body in their proportions: neck, body and foot became separate parts, their mutual proportions resembling the structure of the human body. In this field LH III C was a predecessor of later Protogeometric development, when female and male amphorae were distinguished and used for burials of men or of women accordingly (**figs. 34 and 63**).

The triglyph-metopoid articulation of horizontal bands of decoration had some earlier tradition in the Mycenaean pottery, but it became especially important in LH III B 2–C styles; LH III C prepared the basis of the main rhythmical system of later Greek art (cf. GAE 56–60).

The duck vases already started in Greece in LH III A 2, and they showed continuous development until Middle Geometric and later styles (**fig. 35**). They were, however, especially characteristic for LH III C, in which they stressed the “wooden” inspiration (**fig. 36**). Parallel barrel animals are also known from LH III C (GAE 129–131). Even the latter showed some kind of continuity until Geometric times, but they were especially characteristic for LH III C. The triple vases are particularly characteristic for the Protogeometric period, but they had predecessors in LH III C (GAE 133–134; Guggisberg 1996).

SPINNING AND WEAVING UTENSILS

The pyramidal loom weights of European tradition replaced in Early Geometric Greece the earlier types, and the spools, known mainly from the contexts of the Sea Peoples, are known from EIA Italy and the western Balkans (cf. GAE, 87; Barber 1991, 302–6; Hood 1982, 98–103). The pyramidal loom-weights became the standard Greek shape used until Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. While the spools and the Barbarian Ware go with the Sea Peoples to the East (Rahmsdorf 2003, 2005; Badre 2003; Barakos 2003), the pyramidal and conical weights remain the standard implements in Greece, and there is also an unbroken tradition between the technology and shapes of the Barbarian Ware and later hand-made vessels in Submycenaean to Geometric Greece (Strack 2007).

ARCHITECTURAL CONCEPTS, SANCTUARIES

The transition of the palatial megaron to the Early Greek sanctuary is better known now than it was a few decades ago. The Mycenaean palace building was the model for the temple *in antis*, but its wooden construction is alien to the local tradition. It derives from the European building techniques known from Britain to the Ukraine, and from Scandinavia to Italy and the Balkans (**fig. 28**). It is a traditional technique developed in those parts of Europe where there was enough timber available and the construction of posts carrying walls and roof prevailed during the whole prehistory (Mazarakis Ainian 1997a, 124–233; GAE, 64f). The walls were of wattle-and-daub technique, and the roof of plastered reed (cf. **figs. 55, 58, 65–66**). The gables left space for decoration. This construction developed during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods and became the model for later Greek temple architecture in stone; it must have been understood by its builders in Greece to be the most proper dwelling for the gods. The main Greek sanctuaries, like Olympia and Delphi, started in LH III C, and show a continuous tradition through the Dark Age to Archaic Greece, while their predecessors are very modest and/or uncertain (cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997a, 375–377). New excavations at Kalapodi, however, identified the earliest LH III C sanctuary,¹⁴ and the chamber tombs in Elateia-Alonaki in Phokis show rather fluent transition from LH III B to PG (Deger-Jalkotzy 2009), but new surveys elsewhere do not seem to have changed the evidence essentially; at Ephesus the traces of some predecessors of the Protogeometric cultic activities are only as few as on the Greek mainland. The forerunners used daub reliefs (**pl. B 3**) as decoration.

XOANA AND NEW FORMULAE TO DEPICT HUMAN AND ANIMAL BODY

The LH III C figurines from Olympia, Phylakopi and elsewhere resemble the wooden “statues” known from the British Isles and Scandinavia (Bouzek 2000a, cf. here **figs. 37** and **39.6**). A tree trunk with remains of cut-off branches, changed into suggestions of legs and arms, was the common source of those prehistoric “statues” and of Greek xoana as well (cf. also **fig. 89**). But even the facial details of LBA wooden statues and the earliest Iron Age figurines known to us are strikingly similar. The xoana derive from the same tradition of forest areas as the new temples of gods in Greece; from the tradition in which wood and timber were considered the most proper materials for the human figure and those of gods as well. The early clay figurines of animals are also very similar to those known from prehistoric Europe (Bouzek 2002b, **fig. 3**), while the Levantine Reshef figurines, known also

14 Niemeyer, contribution to the Volos conference, summer 2015.

from the earliest phase of the Phoenician enterprises in the Western Mediterranean, were the models of the Protogeometric figurines of smiting god.¹⁵

CYPRIOT AND LEVANTINE IMPORTS, EGYPT

Perati (Iakovides 1970), Tiryns and Lefkandi are the most representative sites for understanding this phenomenon, while Crete was probably even more important (cf. Wallace 2010). The scarabs, other small faience objects, ivory and glass are of Egyptian inspiration, but as far as we know, they were mainly products of the Levantine workshops. Tripods and other bronze vessels are clear evidence that much impact came from the east, notably from Cyprus, a country where a large part of the Mycenaean population fled during and after the catastrophes (Catling 1966; Matthäus 1985). In the field of iconography and pottery style, there were close contacts as well (Mountjoy 2005). In particular the octopus changed into the Tree of Life on the menagerie-vases may have had eastern inspiration (**fig. 40**), which is also reflected in Greek myths, as shown notably by W. Burkert (1988), but Yggdrasil was part of European mythology as well.

NEW ICONOGRAPHICAL FORMULAE: EAST AND WEST

New iconographical ideas are known first from the Tanagra sarcophagi of LH III A-B (Spyrouopoulos 1969, 1970; Demakopoulou – Konsola 1981): mourning around the deceased and the riddle of the Sphinx (**fig. 41**) are subjects familiar in later Greek Iron Age art (Cavanagh – Mee 1997; Immerwahr 1995). But there is (or was?) a neo-Hittite relief in the Mosul Museum with a representation of mourning quite similar to the Geometric idiom. Some predecessor are also known from elsewhere (cf. the Circus Pot from Mycenae; Wace 1932, pl. 18, here **fig. 22**).

Especially interesting are the figural representations on vases in simplified sketched manner reminding one of later Geometric art; most of them are war scenes (cf. Hiller 1999; Wedde 1999, here **fig. 42**). Among the most important items are the krater sherds from Kynos (Dakoronia 1997, cf. also in Deger-Jalkotzy, ed. 2003, ed. 2005 and Crouwel 1999), from Pyrgos Livanaton (Wachsmann 2000, Fig. 6: 13; Barakos 2003, Fig. 4) and Tragana (Korres 1989), all with ships and warriors, as is also the new sherd from Lefkandi (Arch. Rep. 2004–5, 51, Fig. 90). The krater fragment from Ayia Triada Eleias (Schoinas 1999, 2003) probably represents a prothesis with mourners (**fig. 41.7**), similarly as it is depicted on some of the Tanagra sarcophagi (**fig. 41.1–6**). One sherd in similar style comes from Ugarit (Royaume d'Ougarit 2004,

15 Seeden 1980; AAE, 69–70, GAE, 168; cf. esp. the figurine from Phylakopi.

p. 234 cat. No. 251); a hunter and a stag are represented here (**fig. 42.7**). The Bademgedighi warriors (**fig. 42.6**) wear helmets similar to the Warrior Vase type (**fig. 25**), but the drawing is much cruder (Mountjoy 2005). The Kynos figural style is especially fascinating (**fig. 42.1**); the artistic formulae are very similar to those of the rock carvings in Scandinavia (**fig. 39.1–5**), but there are also the seeds here of the much later stylistic vocabulary of Greek Geometric art (cf. Dakoronia 2006ab, Coldstream 2006a) and similar scenes on **fig. 43.12–13**). The whole group resembles engravings on bronze razors from Denmark, while there exist also less close parallels in Alpine rock art (**pl. A 5.4**) and on the Central European decorative elements in bronze objects (GAE; **fig. 57**). The ships with birds (Benson 1975; Hiller 1999; Lenz 1995; Yon 1992; Korres 1989; Wachsmann 2000; Bouzek 2004b, here **fig.s 43.8, 10 and 14**) go with the Sea Peoples, probably in later tradition called Pelasgoi (according to Dion. Halic. I, 28, 3–4 they were originally called Pelargoi, as all with them resembled storks). The Circus Pot of Mycenae (**fig. 22**) represents something what can hardly be understood properly; it mirrors the stress of the painter, who was just searching to depict strong impression of something, for what he had no artistic model in his conventional tradition; it also reminds some of the dancers in Scandinavian rock art (**fig. 39.1–4**). The transition from Mycenaean idols to the bell-shaped items also happened in this period (Bouzek 1997a, 127, with bibliography, and Karageorghis 2001; **fig. 68**).

The horned and curved symmetrical patterns (**fig. 38.2**) resemble those used on the hilts of the Urnfield swords (**fig. 38.1**) and on the finials of the so-called “Antenna” swords (of Ha B 2–3), and may have been signs of some fraternity in arms, as were later similar “pair-of-dragons” motives on sheets of Celtic swords (cf. Bouzek 2005b; Furumark 1941, 362–364, antithetic spiral pattern, **fig. 62**; Mountjoy 1995, **fig. 434: 227, 441 d, 469: 7**, etc.). The warlike character of LH III C might have had similar symbols, as the Aegeans of that time used the same type of swords.

The “menagerie-vases”, as Fritz Schachermeyr called them, remind one of the Tree of Life with animals on it, even if the central element is more like the old octopus: birds, fishes and hedgehogs (or perhaps boars?) prevail (**fig. 40.1–5**). They are known mainly from the eastern Aegean (Mountjoy 1995, **fig. 456: 141 Kos, fig. 464–465 Kalymnos**), but parallels also exist on the Greek mainland (Güntner 2000, **pl. 56: 46 and pl. 82**; Crouwel 1991; Sake-larakis 1992; Mountjoy 1995). The so-called hedgehogs in this context may rather be boars, known in their adversary relation to the Tree of Life in the Nordic mythology, but rather positive attitude to them exists in other mythologies.

Horse and bird are among the most frequently represented subjects on LH III C pottery, while fish is also often depicted; men are rare (Benson 1970, 1975; Bouzek 1997a, 140–143; Yon 1992; Güntner 2000, **pls. 34–56 and pl. 61**).

SOLAR SYMBOLS AND BIRDS

Since LH III B solar symbolism similar to that of European Urnfields (Kossack 1954, Briard 1987; Kaul 1998, here **fig. 18**) can be traced in the Aegean (Bouzek 1997b, 125–6); a kind of religious message seems to have existed behind the new iconography. The sea anemone, rosette, circles and concentric circles (Furumark *Mot.* 27, 17, 41 and 43) are of special importance in LH III B–C (**fig. 43.1–11**); isolated semicircles are predecessors of similar main ornaments of Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery (cf. Bouzek 1970, 98–101). In the Greek tradition the Hyperboreans, Thracians and other northern people were bearers of important religious messages, and this seems also to be expressed in the iconography of LH III C.

The gold roundel of Central European or North Italic provenance from the Trésor d'Artemision in Delos (**fig. 5.6**) also belongs to this phenomenon (Matthäus 1979), besides the story of the Hyperborean maidens and of amber sent through the relay transport from the Baltic across various tribes to Delos (Herod. IV, 32–36; cf. Bouzek 2000b). The popularity of birds and the Sun went with the Sea Peoples to the Levant via the Aegean. The ships with bird protomae remind one strongly of the European solar barque (**figs. 5, 43.8**). This motif of bird protomae is not only known on pottery (Tiryns, Rhodes, cf. Bouzek 1985, 177–178, but also on metal sheets and vessels from Pylos (Bouzek 1985, 1997a, 98–99). The LH III C birds went eastwards to the Levant with the Sea Peoples and were of extreme importance also for the Philistines (Yon 1992; Bouzek 1997a, 141–3 and 2004; Lenz 1995; Bouzek 2011ab); the ships of the Sea Peoples with bird protomae are even known from the Medinet Habu reliefs (Wachsmann 1998, 2000). The reciprocal relations between Greece and Europe during the Late Bronze Age, known from warfare and from dress fasteners mainly, can also be seen in the related style of depicting humans and animals, and in the iconography (cf. Briard 1987; Kaul 1998; Bouzek 1997a, 124–139).

CONCLUSIONS

Generally speaking, some of the new artistic ideas appeared already in LH III B, and the first of them in LH III A 2, too. In the field of visual art, as stressed by Gombrich, any new idea must grow from what existed before, and can only add to what already exists. The dissolution of old figural and floral decorative motives opened the way to a new language, whose foundations were laid notably in LH III C.

The new subjects, like mourning, prothesis etc. were first—on the Tanagra sarcophagi—expressed in the old manner or in attempts where the new stylistic phenomena were only suggested, like on the Circus Pot (**fig. 22**), but

the Kynos and Ayia Triada Eleias sherds show the seeds of the new Geometric style in which the barbarian impact started to merge with the earlier Aegean heritage to lay the foundations of the new Iron Age Greek world, similarly as the Early Christian art of Ravenna prepared the medieval development. It appears that the pan-European *koine* of 13th–12th century BC was not only of weapons, armour and dress fasteners, but also of many common religious ideas generally understandable over a very large territory (cf. also Betancourt 1999; Marinatos 2001; Gauer 2001).

Greek mythology took over impulses from various traditions (cf. notably Burkert 1975, 1977), and no wonder that the iconography did the same. It descended from Mycenaean tradition, accepted impulses from various sides: East, South, West and North, and prepared a new synthesis of Greek Geometric and Archaic art.

2.3 FROM BRONZE TO IRON AGE

Time of the Heroes of Hesiod is situated between the Bronze and the Iron Age. We know some of the heroes from the very rich burials at the beginning of the time of the Urnfields and some even from the end of that time; they remind us of the burials of Homer's heroes. A common habit of that time was sacrificing bronze objects as depots on sacred places; it was probably a final part of a religious ritual. They might be recycled in a time of urgent need as well as the treasures of the Greek temples. Most of the hoards on the important places in the landscape were the sacrifices to the gods or to lower spiritual beings in order to secure harmonious relationship between human society and surrounding nature. Other depots of pottery represented—when they were deposited with food—sacrifices similar to Greek thesmophoria: feasts of Demeter that secured fertility and good harvest.¹⁶

The boom of the Central European mild climate (cf. **figs. 13–14**) was parallel to the crisis in the Mediterranean area, where draught and poor crop led to serious problems. The weapons and armour of the time of the Urn Fields are the same in most of Europe—from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean, from central France as far as to modern eastern border of Poland and Romania. Spectacular armour was from sheet bronze. Goliath, the Philistine hero defeated by David, wore such an armour; Philistines were one of the Sea Peoples who settled after their defeat on Egyptian border in southern Palestine.¹⁷

The Sea Peoples were stopped by the army of Ramses III on Egyptian border shortly after 1200. Egyptian reports reflect their surprise that in their

16 Cf. GAE 24–47; cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1978, 1983, 1998, 2005, 2009.

17 Cf. GAE 19–22, 160–165, here ch. 2.1; Gold und Kunst der Bronzezeit 2003.

military operation many different ethnic groups participated and they were able to cooperate. The ability to cooperate closely outside the own blood community is the foreboding of the *Gefolgschaft* (leader and his men) system of the Early Iron Age, as well as hoards of ceramic vessels that couldn't be used any longer after statutory (oath) ritual with pledge. Also people living north of Greece worshipped both Apollo, the model of perfect youth, and Dionysus, *spiritus vini*—vine spirit. Alcohol consumption freed human individual from the blood relationship. The followers of the leader were bound by agreement, by promises given at the feast with drinking vine, but the relationship between the leader and his followers was not irreversible. Achilles could refuse the head of the army Agamemnon to go to war and nothing happened to him, in feudal time it would mean the loss of the tenure. In the female world women left their families, they became maenads—wild worshippers of Dionysus, they were running in the mountains, had their drinking feasts and other adventures (often with their male partners—Satyrs). The emancipation of the individuals created a space for the community of polis that didn't rely on blood relationships, but on agreement made by its citizens (cf. ch. 2.1). This system developed first in Greece, but it was adopted by the Etruscans and other Italics; later also by the Celts.

The Iron Age is depicted in many mythologies as sharp worsening of the state of the world and Hesiod especially complained (LI, 174–8):

*If only I wouldn't belong to the fifth generation of men,
But die sooner or was born later.
Because now it is the Iron Age. During daytime men know
no end of toil and sorrow and
at night they suffer from exhaustion.
And gods bestowed on us great anxiety.*

It was similarly viewed by Lucretius and by Celtic and German mythology; from the European myths maybe only Kalevala saw in a piece of iron something new, opening the way to future (cf. GAE 44–48).

Greek camp outside the Troy walls was a model of a new city, the opposite of the old town of the Bronze Age Troy whose foundation and existence depended on the will of gods and their relationship to people, who easily messed up the destiny, as Paris during the beauty contest (but it was clear from the beginning that a contest of the most beautiful goddess could not end up else than with disaster). Hesiod also describes two towns (Op. 225–47): the one that it's rightly ruled by the citizens prospers and where not, it perishes; similar picture of two towns is in the middle of the shield of Achilles (Il. 18, 490–540). There is a message that it is necessary to issue human laws of society because direct theocracy has finished; just only town with rights

laws—polis—is a basis of the world order, macrocosm; the polis is more autonomous reflection compared to the theocratic towns of the Bronze Age.

In the geographic description of the world as the Greeks of that time perceived it; it is appropriate to use two descriptions preserved by early Greek authors. It is the shield of Achilles by Homer, and the shield of Heracles by Hesiod. In the middle of the shield of Heracles there was depicted Phoibos but also Eris, snakes, then Lapiths with Centaurs and choros, Perseus and harbour; by the circumference there are war and peace as an expression of the polarization of the world forces and finally around the shield Okeanos. In the middle of the shield of Achilles (Il. XVIII, 477–608) there were sky, earth and sea as a centre of the created world, around in the agriculture world: ploughing, harvest and vintage, then pastoral life, dance of shepherds and shepherdesses, and beyond them a lion attacking a bull; at the edge of the shield there was again Okeanos (**fig. 71** left). This described depiction of both shields is a basic model of every Greek artwork, which in its microcosm should reflect cosmos.

At the edge of the shield of Achilles, as well as on the shield of Heracles by Hesiod, there was Okeanos surrounding the whole earth. Okeanos was something different than sea the Greeks sailed. It was the very border of the physical world and in time conception the beginning of its existence (Il. XIV, 246). Hesiod says that Okeanos has three thousand sons and three thousand daughters, streams and rivers, givers of life (Theog. 364–7). Okeanos was for Greeks and for Etruscans in mythical expression what Milesian philosophers translated from visualized mythology of the Dark Age into new language either like water (Thales) that can itself change into other things or *apeiron* (Anaximandros); the development is through excretion of opposites, temporary polarisation of forces. Anaximenes called this primordial material substance *apeiron aer*, it means substance similar to our primordial nebula. Okeanos is present at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François vase, but otherwise he is depicted only rarely.

Phonetic script created by Phoenicians, who before the Greeks developed entrepreneurial spirit of privately run sailing, connected both to trade and piracy, was an outcome of abstraction as well as progress in mathematics and astronomy. It set free human mind from overloaded memory and it was indispensable step of the progress in speculative philosophical thought (cf. ch. 6).

Greek art starts—as other phases of the world development—by the period of involution. Mycenaean civilization perished both because of inner problems, climatic crisis and invasion of barbarians from Europe and the western Mediterranean; the best known of whose are so called Sea Peoples (cf. ch. 2.1). Together with Mycenaean culture great Hittite empire in Asia Minor perished and part of city states in Syria and Lebanon. Part of the Sea Peoples settled after their defeat in Palestine (the best known are Philistines)

and by the Syrian coast towns of Phoenicians soon bloomed, whose culture together with sailing, seafaring trade and development of phonetical script strongly influenced the art of the early Iron Age. The melting and forging of iron were known to Hittites already in the 14th century, but the new metal was more widely used in the eastern Mediterranean as late as in the 12th century and only around year 1000 BC iron started to be commonly used in Greece for weapons and tools. The Iron Age brought not only use of new metal, but also new approach to world, new identity.

The Greek heroes of the end of Bronze Age got out of the divine order the influence of which they didn't respect any longer. They were not able to control their passions and they became models for characters of Greek tragedies. In the *Iliad*, whose author lived according to prevailing Greek tradition on the break of 10th and 9th century BC reflects mainly situation of the very beginning of the Iron Age, there are various heroes of transition period depicted in detail; we can trace well the development of thought of early Iron Age with the heroes of Homer.

In the *Iliad* Aias is the oldest hero wearing old-world Bronze Age armour. Similarly to the heroes of the tragedies he is not able to control his passions with his mind, he commits foolish deeds: in foolishness he kills the flock of his camp and when he recognises his shame he couldn't live any longer and commits suicide. He is tossed by his passions as well as heroes of Greek tragedies. The middle generation is represented mainly by Hector and Achilles. Achilles can to certain degree control his passions, but he gives way to them when he loses his mistress Briseis and refuses to fight, and also when after the death of Patroclus he massacres Trojan captives; after winning the duel he lets the body of his rival Hector be drawn on the battlefield. Hector is exemplary son, father and husband caring for homeland and family, probably the most positive character from the whole *Iliad*, but even he doesn't survive the war. They both die not being able to cross the threshold of the new age. Only the cunning Odysseus can cross it; from our point of view he is definitely not a model of moral excellence, but he is—besides Diomedes, the one who by shooting at Aphrodite transgressed the space of *thambos* and was refused at home—the only one who could think independently. The slyness was one of the first signs of new personal intelligence; the main representative of which in Greek world is Pallas Athena born from the head of Zeus, by Goethe called *Urgedanke*. She also helps Odysseus who is the new type of a person inspired by her able to carry out independent way of thinking. Similar way Lord helps David in the Old Testament. His victory over Goliath was not according to the Olympic rules, and sending husband to war to be able to have his wife he desired, is not a moral deed. The Lord liked David although he was not always an example of virtue. Also the story of Samson and Delilah show the victory of fraud over rough force; this time with less favourable impact on Israel.

New art of Iron Age was prepared by the reduction of the picture in the Late Mycenaean time. Its forerunner was the art in the 12th century BC called Late Helladic III C style, when much of the later iconographic and style development was started, but disappeared as a seed in ground and much later appeared again. In 13th and 12th century many scenes started that were popular in Late Geometric art in the 8th century: mourning deceased at prothesis, processions of warriors, and Oedipus with Sphinx had there their predecessors. Also popularity of depicting birds, fish, horse, sun gods whose successor was Apollo, spread at that time from continental Europe. From the east imports from the Levant influenced this world, mediating impulses from the Middle East and Egypt. Continuity of tradition is partly visible at the end of the Mycenaean civilisation, notably in Thessaly and Athens, but generally the collapse brought an origin of new more simple society that grew out of components of domestic, European and Near Eastern impacts and created new synthesis.

2.4 PRIDE AND MODESTY—HOW TO SURVIVE THE DARK AGE

The end of the Mycenaean period was marked by a considerable barbarian presence which probably took the leading position in the mosaic of small kingdoms. In a way, even the society known from Linear B gives the impression of a new leading strata of *nouveau riche* implanted into an alien system. Such groups demonstrate their legitimacy by keeping most of the formal structure of the old system, and this seems to have been the strategy of the leaders of the small LH III C kingdoms, too. The new criteria of taste influenced some elements of the material culture, but many of the traditional forms persisted. The decline of the old Bronze Age divine kingship was followed by a further development at the end of Mycenaean times, when more democratic political structures were called for (GAE 19–40, HG 82–87). More barbarians arriving into a society where the palace bureaucracy was collapsing, made the former “lower class” strong enough to overthrow the remnants of the old system. The social explanations of the Dorian history initiated by J. Chadwick (1976, 1984) may touch on the truth. In the later contribution he is suggesting that the Dorians were actually non-Greek speaking originally and took over low class Greek, like the Goths and Langobards in Italy in Early Mediaeval times. Even more probably it happened with the Pelasgians (cf. Briquel 1984), like much later with the Albanians and Slavs in Greece.

But as everywhere in human history, no effect has only one cause, earthquake, barbarians, climatic difficulties, economic problems and social—all played some part and the only serious mistake of new studies is that they try to find only one unique cause; the weighing of them is, however, necessary (cf. Eder 1998, Dickinson 2006; Middleton 2010).

The fate of the traditional upper class was, of course different in different parts of Greece; local schools of painted pottery reflect this situation (Mountjoy 1995). Those who could not relinquish their pride, like the rulers of Mycenae, ended in the catastrophes reflected in Greek tragedies. In Tiryns they restored the *anaktoron*, and created conditions for large community even outside the citadel (cf. for development of architecture esp. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997a), Lefkandi LH III C was a temporary success (Middleton 2010 with essential bibliography), as was Perati (Iakovides 1970), probably in collaboration with the Sea Peoples, whom the Greeks in their legends probably called *Pelasgoi* (cf. Briquel 1984). Those who gave up their privileges and started to live like their ordinary kinsmen, as the Athenian kings did, were able to open the way towards the new age of Classical Greece. In LH III C solid foundations were laid for what later became Geometric Greece (Deger-Jalkotzy – Lemos, eds. 2006, Bouzek 2011c).

The small units persisted always better than the colossal empires, as also the example of Crete split into small units shows (Wallace 2010). The state economy collapsed in late LM III C Crete with the rule on the sea, the pirates of the Sea Peoples were similarly dangerous as were the medieval Arab raids (cf. the conference volumes Karageorghis, ed. 1998, with Stampolides – Karageorghis 2003, with Kouka 2009, for the Sea Peoples Oren, ed. 2000, Sandars 1985b). The modest subsistence of small communities, both in economy and warfare, became in Dark Age Crete successful; but pirate nests also existed on some promontories, as shown already by Nowicki (2000). Archaic cities with their small territories, differences in their constitutions and political arrangements, arose from this Dark Age pattern with concentration of population at well defendable places with enough large territory. This development created rather stable small poleis with poor, but proud populations of *homoioi* by descent, though in most cases with less rigid political system than in Sparta. The international involvement in the Orientalizing period, despite of its temporary success in Daedalic art, did not bring Cretans much economic activity outside the island, perhaps with the exception of mercenaries, Cyrenaica and the foundation of Gela together with the Rhodians. Egyptian influence was more probably transmitted via the Phoenicians than directly, and most of us would see more Oriental influence than Egyptian in the Daedalic Crete than S. Wallace (2010). The modest success on the path across the Dark Age prepared the conservatism of Cretan poleis, resulting in a strong opposition against any unification of the island and in the lack of economic growth. Therefore, unlike most Greece, Crete played only a marginal role in Late Archaic and Classical Greece (Wallace 2010).

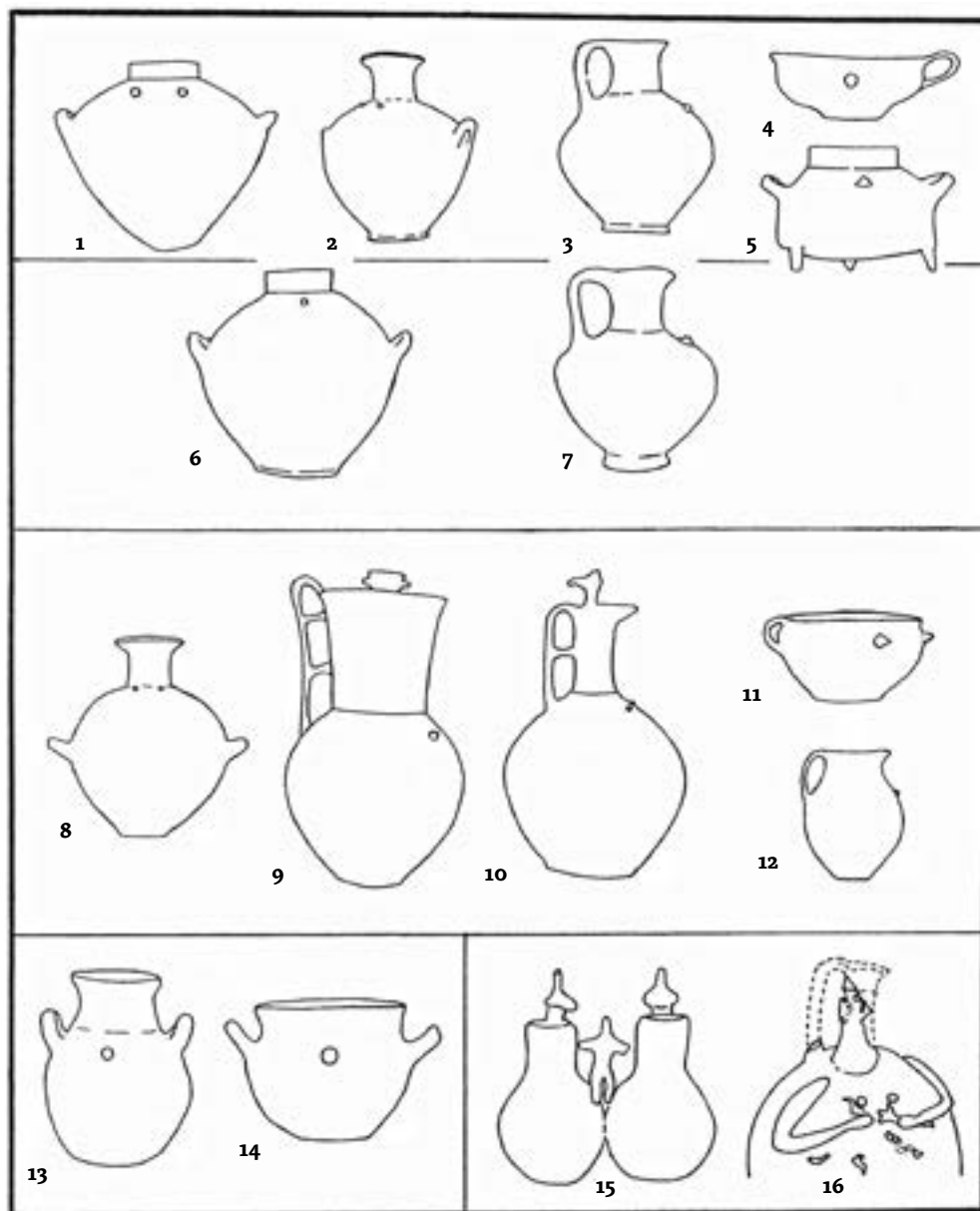


Fig. 34: Bosses on LH III C and Submycenaean vases. 1 and 3 Mycenae, 2 Asine, 4 Vourvatsi, 5 Ialyssos, 6 Kerameikos, 7 Salamis, 8 Corinth, 9–11 Attic Geometric, 12 Protoattic, 13–14 Vergina, 15 Athens, 16 Ialyssos. After Bouzek 1997, fig. 145.

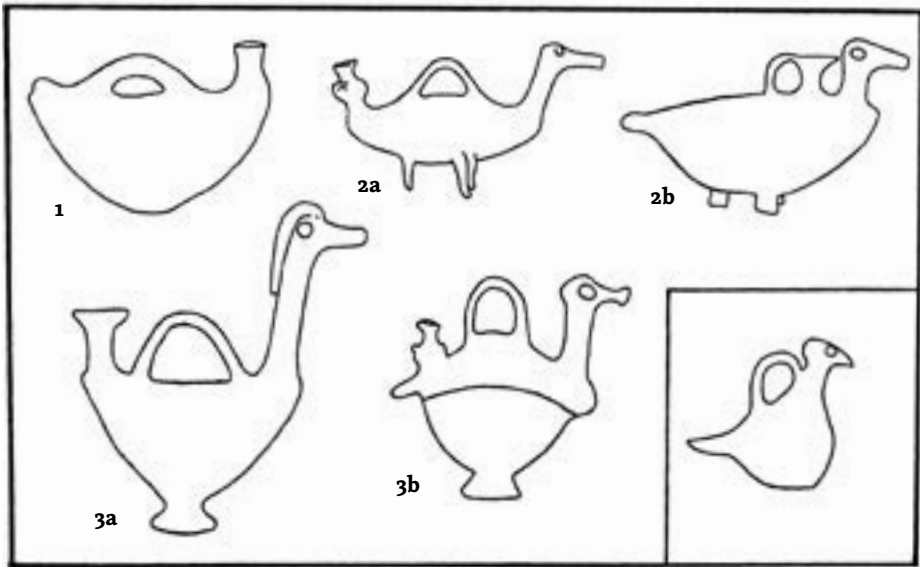


Fig. 35: Types of Cretan bird askoi. 1, 2a, 3b Fortetsa, 2b and 3a Arkades. Right below the Orientalizing type. After AAE.

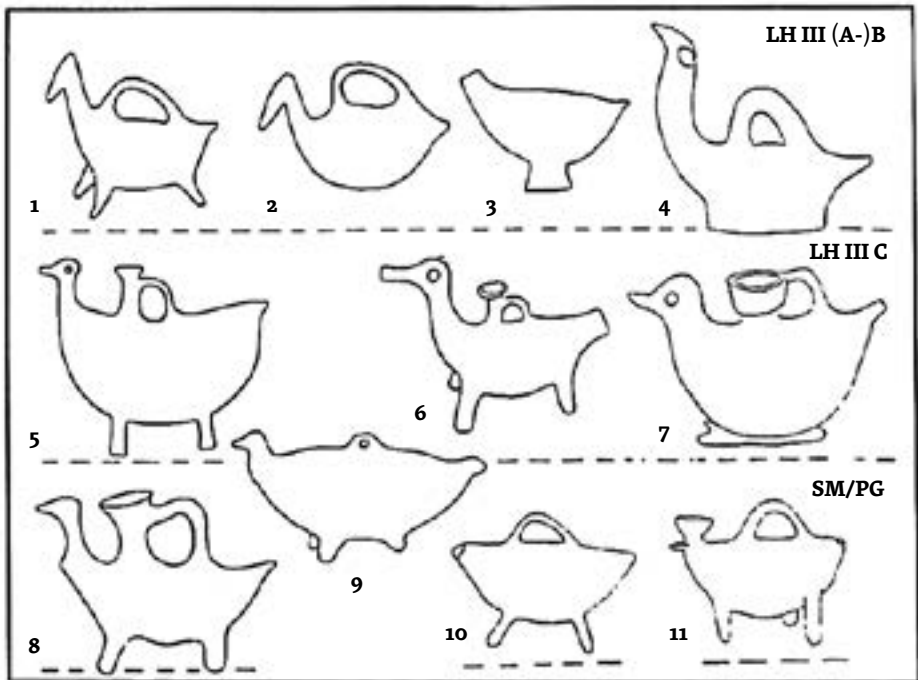


Fig. 36: A Bird askoi in Greece, LH III (A-)B to Submycenaean and Protogeometric. 1-2 Mycenae, 3 Prosymna, 4 in Munich, 5-6 Achaea, 7 Ialyssos, 8 in Heidelberg, 9-10 Kerameikos, 11 Assarlik. After Bouzek 1997, fig. 146.

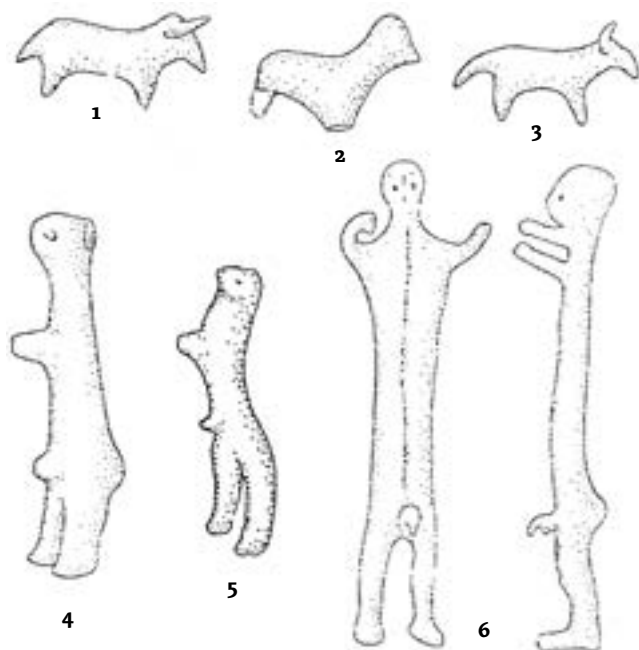


Fig. 37: Clay figurines from Olympia (1 and 3-4), Phylakopi (6) Stránky, Bohemia (2) and Bavaria (5). After Bouzek 1985, fig. 174.

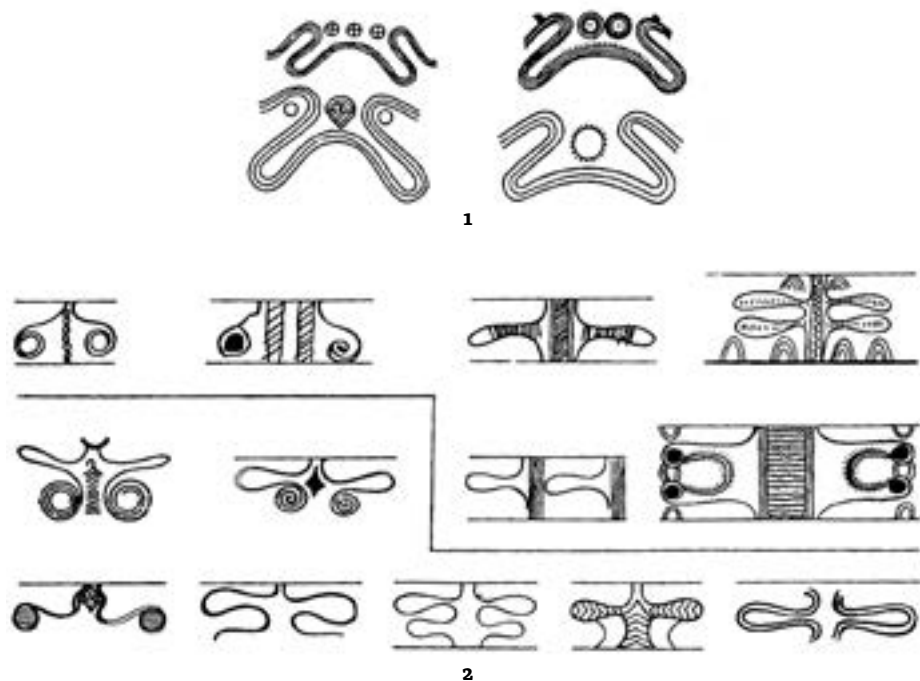


Fig. 38: 1 decoration on guards of the Liptov swords, Slovakia, 2 antithetic spiral pattern (after Furumark 1940, fig. 62). After Bouzek 2005.

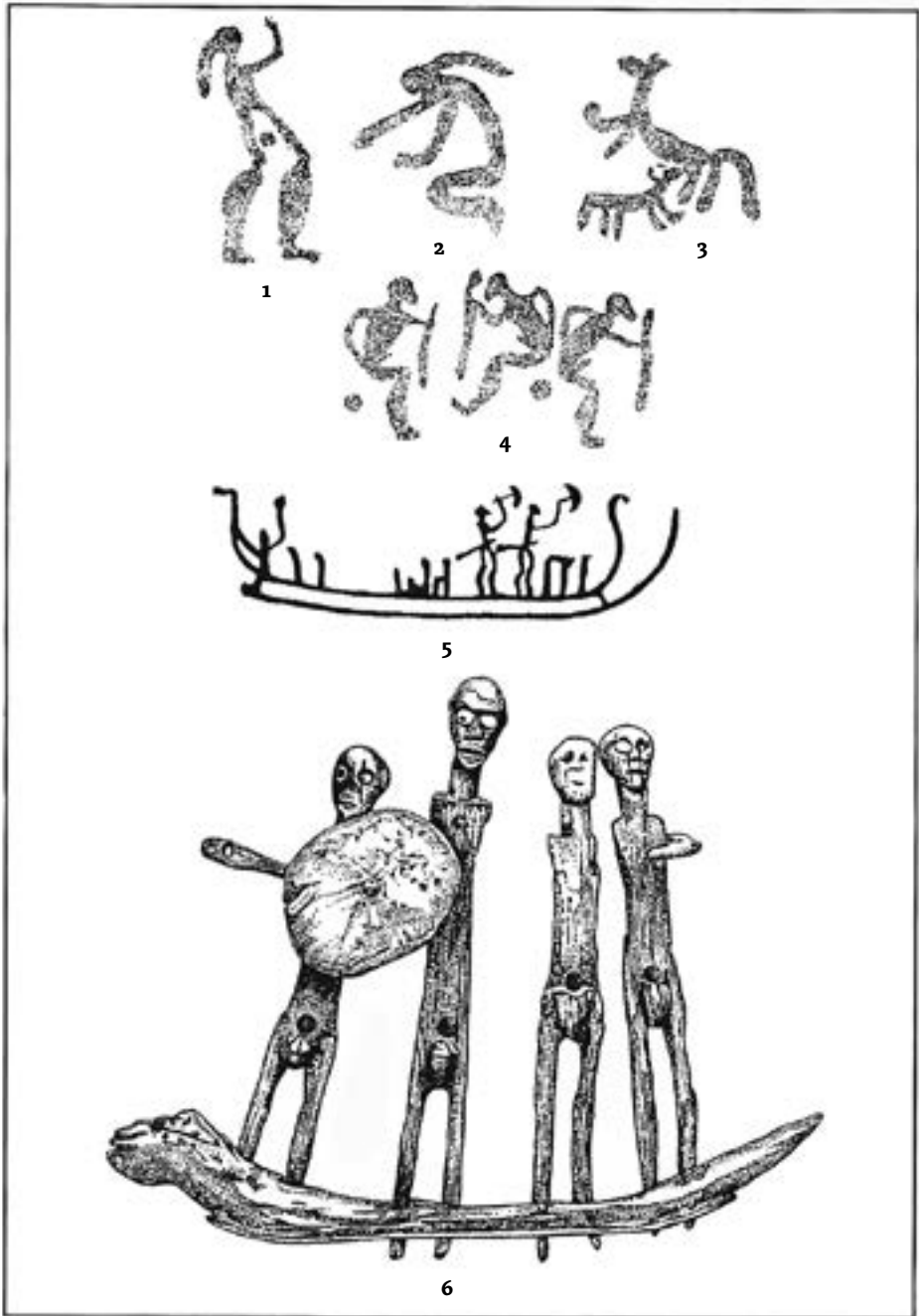


Fig. 39: 1-4 Dancing women, horses and dancing men, 1 and 4 Fossum, 2 Vitlycke, 3 Backa, 5 rock carving of a ship at Vitlycke, all Sweden, 6 wooden model of ship, Roos Carr, England (after Bouzek 1997, figs. 40, 162 and 160).

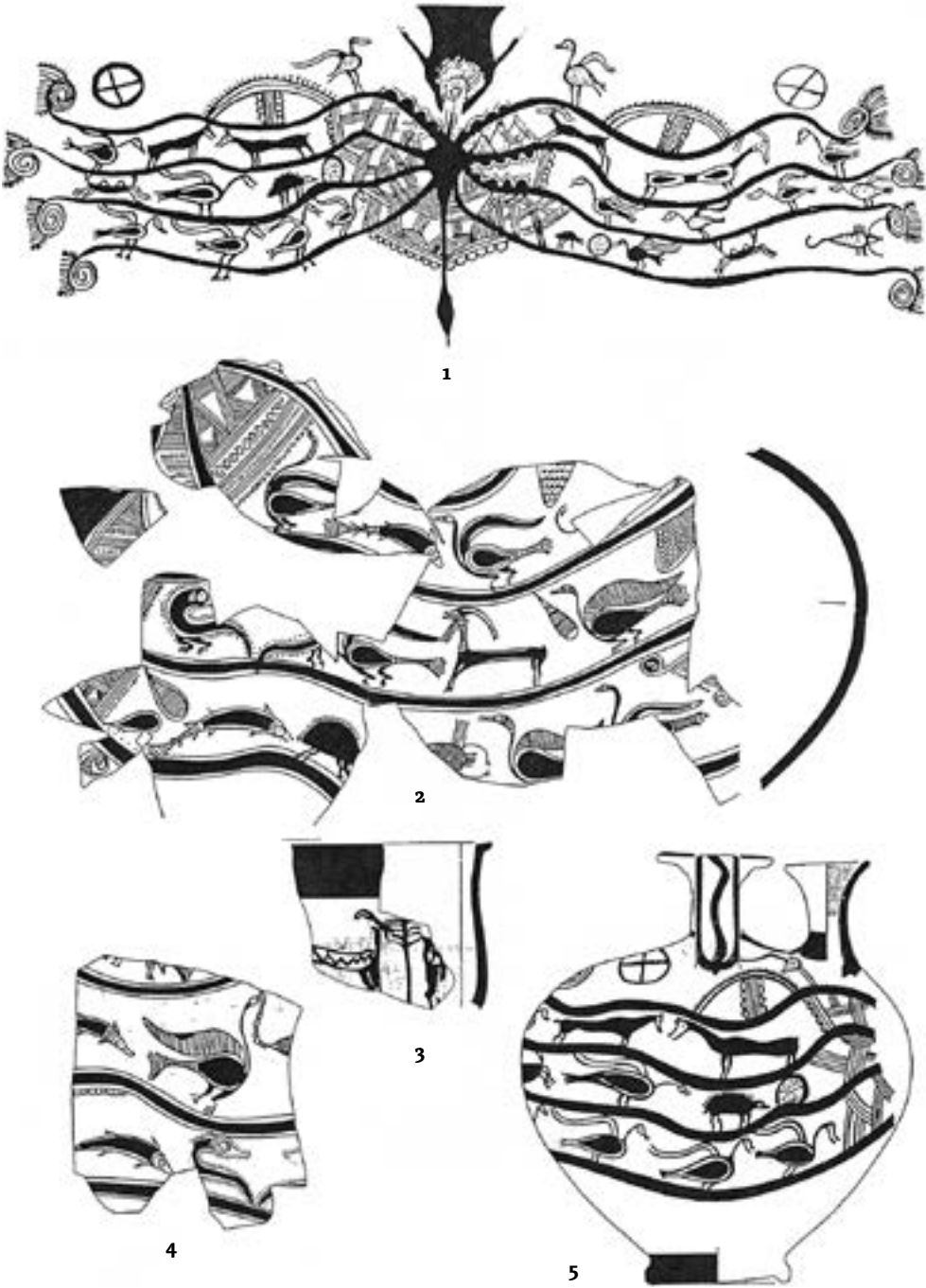


Fig. 40: Vases in Octopus style, LH III C. 1 Kalymnos (after Furumark 1941, fig. 49: 28), 2 and 4 Rhodes (Moutjoy 1995, fig. 438 above), 5 Kalymnos (Mountjoy 1995).

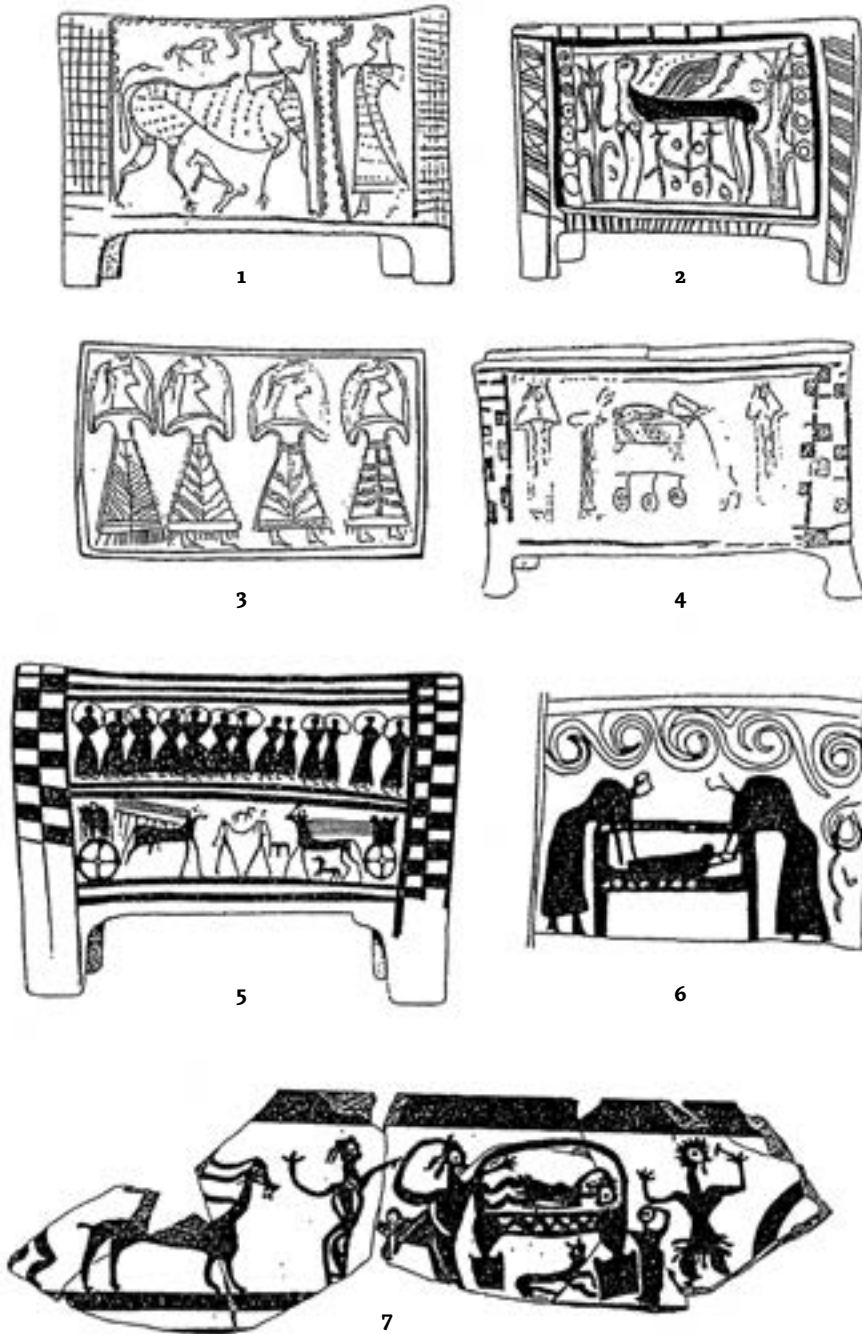


Fig. 41: 1-6 Tanagra sarcophagi, Tanagra after Demakopoulou – Konsola 1981, Immerwahr 1995, Bouzek 1997a, Marinatos 1997, 7 mourning scene on the krater from Ayia Triada Eleias after Schoinas 1999 and 2003.

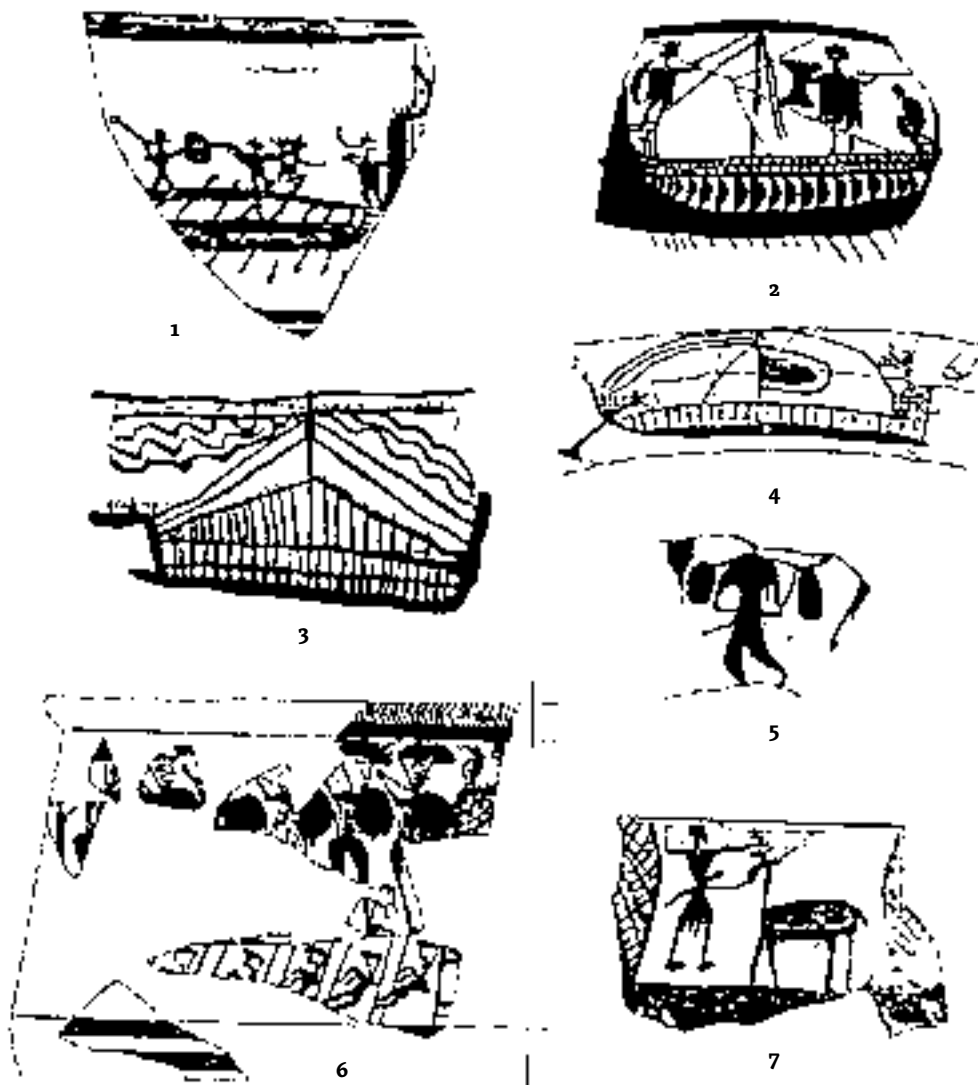


Fig. 42: LH III C ships and warrior scenes. 1 Kynos, 2 Pyrgos Livanaton, 3 Gazi larnax, 4 Tragana. After Wedde, 1999, Dakourounia 1997, Crouwel 1999, Wachsmann 2000, Cavanagh – Mee 1997, Mountjoy 2005, Korres 1989 and Bouzek 1997; 5 Kynos, 6 Bademgedighi warriors, 7 man and stag from Ugarit (after Rouayume d'Ougarit 2004 and Bouzek 1997).

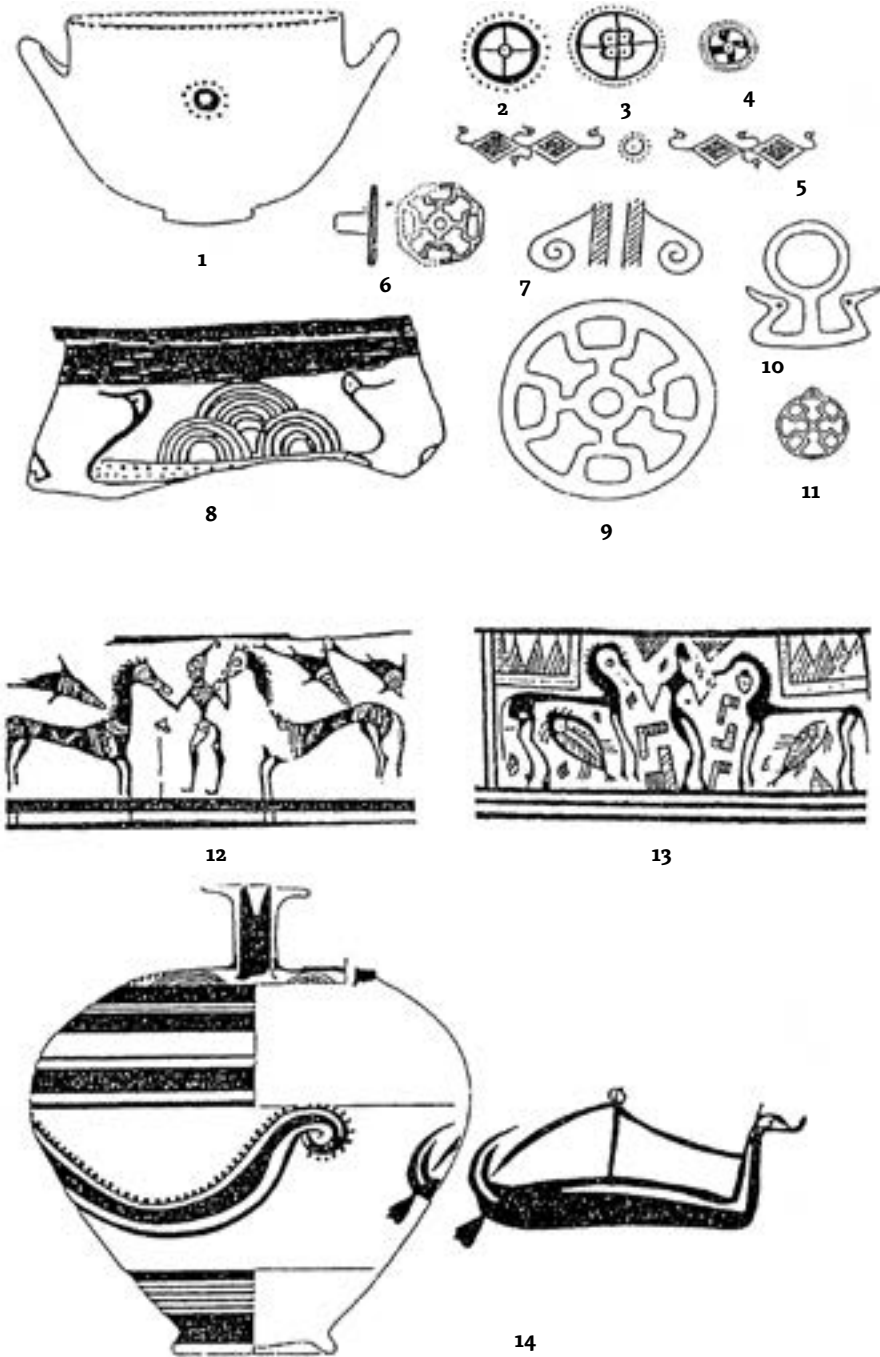


Fig. 43: 1–4 Mycenae, LH III B, 5 Ialyssos, LH III C, 6 Tarent, 7 Furumark mot. 50, 8 Tiryns, 9 Argos, 10 Hungary, 11 Tolfa, 12–13 Ugarit (LH III C) and Argos (Late Geometric), after Bouzek 1997, fig. 106. 14 Skyros, after Wedde 1999 and Bouzek 1997, fig. 149.

2.5 BIRDS

The book by J. Zimmermann on Geometric horses has shown many stylistic relations in the production of figurines of animals in Geometric Greece (Zimmermann 1985); an article on Geometric birds (Zimmermann 1989) has shown a number of aspects of history of figurines of Geometric and sub-Geometric birds. While confirming many of his ideas on interrelations between the local schools of bronzesmiths, it seems to be useful to look at this subject even from another point of view. Discussion concerning Geometric birds, especially those of bronze, is long and with different results while using different approaches (cf. Bouzek 1967). The majority of contributions to this subject were either of prehistory character, without analyzing the style (Kilian, K. 1975a and 1975b; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979), or without knowledge of the territory north of Greece and of other symbolic roles of birds (Zimmermann 1989). K. Kilian et I. Kilian-Dirlmeier produced useful lists of the items, but the stylistic division is either too schematic or absent completely. The second group of specialists, while noticing fine traits of stylistic and technique fields (Zimmermann 1989, Rolley 1983, 1985, 1987) did not discuss the parallels from other regions. It is possible to distinguish four separate questions and discuss them one after another (cf. Bouzek 2004b).

BIRDS OF LH III C—PROTOGEOMETRIC AND THE TRADITION OF KOINE OF GEOMETRIC STYLES

While studying Geometric birds it is necessary to start with the Late Bronze Age. Birds are living everywhere, they are represented in all figural arts of the world, but they were rare in the Aegean Bronze Age art. As already noticed by M. Nilson, they signal presence of divinities, and their role in vase painting was limited. They gained more popularity only in LH III and in LH III B–C they became extremely popular; their popularity surpass all other figurative subjects.

For their history in LH III C and in the Dark Age it is necessary to start discussion with the symbolic *koine* of Europe and the Mediterranean in the 13th – 12th centuries BC. Birds were companions of the Sun in Scandinavia (Sprockhoff 1954, Galling – Davidson 1969) and in the civilisation of the Urn fields of Central and Western Europe (Kossack 1954; Roes 1933; Briard 1987a, 58–60). Between prehistoric Europe and the Near East many birds are known also in South Italy and the Aegean (Bouzek 1985, 176–181; 2013c). The solar barque with bird protomae of European regions finds parallels also with the Sea Peoples (Philistines) in Medinet Habu (Wachsmann 1998; Schachermeyr 1982, 78–79; Sandars 1978, 130–131). They are the most common motif on Philistine pottery (Dothan 1982, 198–203) and similarly on Cyprus at the time of the

Sea Peoples (Yon 1992, 394–407). The birds became one of the most popular motifs on Cypro-Geometric pottery (Benson 1975).

In Greece the protomae of birds preceded the full figures (Bouzek 1977): they appeared in Kerameikos (Kerameikos IV, pl. 39), Torone (Papadopoulos 1991, 13–24) and elsewhere (Benson 1975). They are very common in Geometric Greece (Rolley 1983, 64–66, Zimmermann 1989, 38; Langdon 1990, 316–317). Their religious significance shows links with the European parallels; even C. Rolley (Rolley 1983, 64–66) considers them under the most important European contributions to Greek bronzes; ceramic bird askoi were also popular in the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods (cf. also Bouzek 2007).

Without any doubt many earlier birds existed than those on handles of Argive tripods of second quarter of the 8th century (Zimmermann 1989, 38), but the first birds dedicated to Greek sanctuaries were mainly of clay (cf. Langdon 1990; Heilmeyer 1972). The continuity of production of tripods in bronze is not certain, but the imitations in clay show that they existed in wood and basket. The primitive figurines from Sparta are nearly identical with those of prehistoric Central Europe (**figs. 44–46; pl. A 4.1**).

CAUCASIAN AND CIMMERIAN CONTRIBUTIONS

Elsewhere I tried to study relations between Macedonian and Thracian birds and the Caucasus region (Bouzek 1974b, esp. pp. 328–332, cf. here (**fig. 45**) in the frame of Caucasian inspiration of Macedonian and Thessalian bronzes (Bouzek 1983, 212–217; **fig. 46**). The chronology of so-called Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes in Central Europe is now higher: they started in 9th century, or even slightly earlier (cf. Kossack 1980; Terenožkin 1980; Bouzek 1983, 212–217). This date seems to be confirmed by dendrochronology of Ha B 2 and 3 in Central Europe (Becker-Schmidt 1982), and perhaps also from Sardis.¹⁸ It is also confirmed by iron axes from Athenian graves of early 9th century (HG 138 and A. Wesse 1990). The pyxis from Vitsa grave 113 and several other contexts date the early development of Macedonian bronzes into the first half of the 8th century BC (Bouzek 1988b, 47–49). Cf. Guba-Szeverenyi 2007.

CONTRIBUTION OF PREHISTORIC EUROPE

Tradition during 10th–9th century BC is not quite clear, but primitive birds from Sparta are so closely similar to those of Central Europe, that these could be exchanged without seeing any substantial difference (**fig. 45**);¹⁹ in

18 The discussion on the destruction of Sardis by the Cimmerians or by other cannot be closed as yet. Cf. Becker – Schmidt 1982, 101–106; Brun – C. Mordaut, eds. 1986.

19 Bouzek 1967, 116–118 fig. 1 et *Eirene* 8 1971, 89–93.

all probability they were also made of wood; the finds from Upper Altai and Heraion of Samos show clearly parallels to this situation. As shown by the birds on bird-cages and connections with the Cimmerian world is evident (**figs. 96, 123–124**), it is reasonable to understand pendants in shape of birds as results of northern influences adapted by Peloponnesian workshops—generally, they are rare south of Thessaly. For other varieties the links with Central Europe are becoming more closely evident.²⁰ The majority of contacts between Central Europe and Greece belong to 13th–12th century BC, but some show also later contacts during the Geometric period: amber, fibulae, pins, pendants, beads and pectorals from north are well represented in Greek sanctuaries. It is unclear whether the northern and NE items were brought in the Greek sanctuaries by Greeks as pieces of memory, or by Thracians, Illyrians, Paeonians and other Balkan peoples, but even for the Greeks these objects were bearers of some message, some memory, related to the area of their origin: the tradition told about Greek sanctuaries often mentions their northern and/or eastern origin.

SIMPLE FIGURINES OF BIRDS OF LH III C—EARLY GEOMETRIC DATE

Pottery is principally made for the market, silver plate, gold jewellery directly for the client. Votive bronzes of Late and Sub-Geometric were probably made by itinerant specialist on an occasion of holidays, such feasts were also connected with markets, centres des *etnoi*, those communities which have not yet develop the polis (cf. Coldstream 1982, 17–25). W. D. Heilmeyer (1979, 192–195) has shown how the itinerant bronzesmiths worked at Olympia. The itinerant character of souvenir production causes difficulties in distinguishing the local schools, as it is much more clear in pottery styles.

The classification of local styles by H.-V. Herrmann with my addendum on birds (Herrmann 1964; Bouzek 1967, cf. Zimmermann 1988, 39–45) was often misunderstood. The *schools* are not fixed centers like in pottery styles; they show several main centers and even more imitations, based on the influence of particular masters. Northern Greece often imitated the great Peloponnesian centers. W. D. Heilmeyer has shown that my Argive group is rather Laconian, even if based on Argive inspiration, and only some of them were really Argive (Heilmeyer 1979, 198, Voyatzis 1990, 155–156, cf. Zimmermann 1989, 38, Heilmeyer 1979, 187). The majority of the Corinthian type birds were made in Thessaly and western Greece, but following Corinthian prototypes (Voyatzis 1990, 155, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979); the inspiration came notably from Corinth (Kilian-

20 Cf. now Smejtek – Švédová 2016; Bouzek – Vokolek 2016; Belke-Voigt 2016: also horses, rams and human figurines.

Dirlmeier 1979, 164) and they were found in the area of strong Corinthian influence also in the field of pottery; the production of Phocis and Thessaly were only of local importance. The classification by Zimmermann (1989) brings nice detailed observations; the birds from Tegea, discussed by Mary Voyatzis (1990) find only a few parallels in Sparta, so they may be called Arcadian. The Tegea jewellery of prehistoric character has few parallels south of Thessaly and Boeotia.

PEACOCKS AND “POULES”

The situation among the birds called cocks, peacocks, hens, etc. is clearer (Bouzek 1967, 125–130). The types of Argos and Tegea, Corinth, Thessaly and Macedonia are clearly different, and even their distribution confirms the ascription (**fig. 46.1**). The type known from Tegea and Argos (variety I of I. Kilian-Dirlmeier) seems to be earlier than the second known from Tegea and Sparta. Its origin was probably at Argos, but it was made also in Tegea and Sparta, probably by itinerant smiths (Voyatzis 1990, 147–149). Of the Corinthian type one sample is known from Perachora, one in private collection and another in Prague University (**pl. A 4.1**) from Olynthus, Corinthian colony.

Foreign types of bronze figurines were sometimes made, but without much respect for the original style. Bronzes from Thasos (Dunand – Rolley 1987) and a number of other objects in Greek sanctuaries are imports from areas north of Greece. As shown in the analysis by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1985) many other souvenirs dedicated to Greek sanctuaries came from beyond Greece. Genuine imports are rare, but their influence had some importance for the Orientalizing phase of Greek art.

CONCLUSION

Generally, religious importance of birds in Dark Age became marginal in later Greece, despite of their roles as messengers between the divine and human worlds. Part of the symbols became instruments of magic sorcery, like the wheel with birds (Iynx) for getting love from partner of another sex or the vessel-wagon with ravens at Krannon, for bringing rain at time of dryness. But swan remained symbol of Apollo and even of Aphrodite, peacock remained the bird of Hera, eagle belonged to Zeus, even that sitting on the cage who carries the world globe (**fig. 46.7**). Late Geometric period started to abandon the Dark Age language of symbolic signs, signs of symbols were again translated into more pictorial language: to depicting plants, animals and human beings (Himmelmänn 1968). This transformation of symbols marked the transition from half—prehistoric Dark Age towards polis of Archaic Greece.

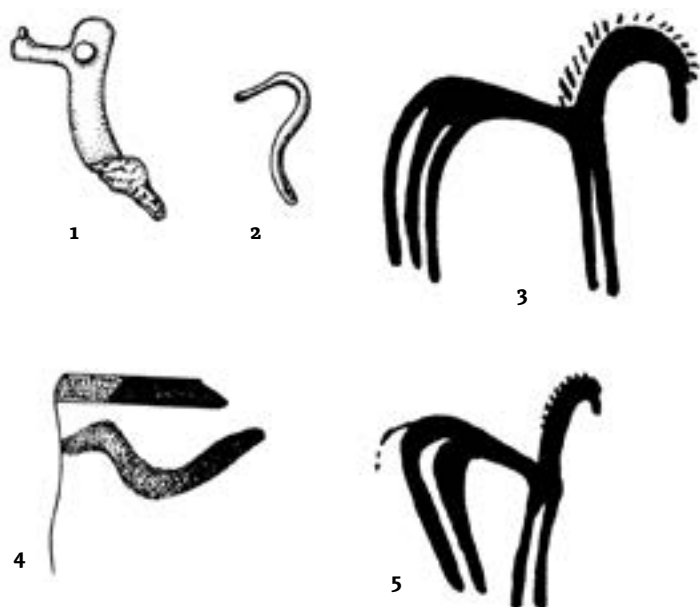


Fig. 44: Heads of birds from Kerameikos. 1–2 bronze, 3 and 5 horses on PG vases, and protome from Torone (4). After Bouzek 2004b.

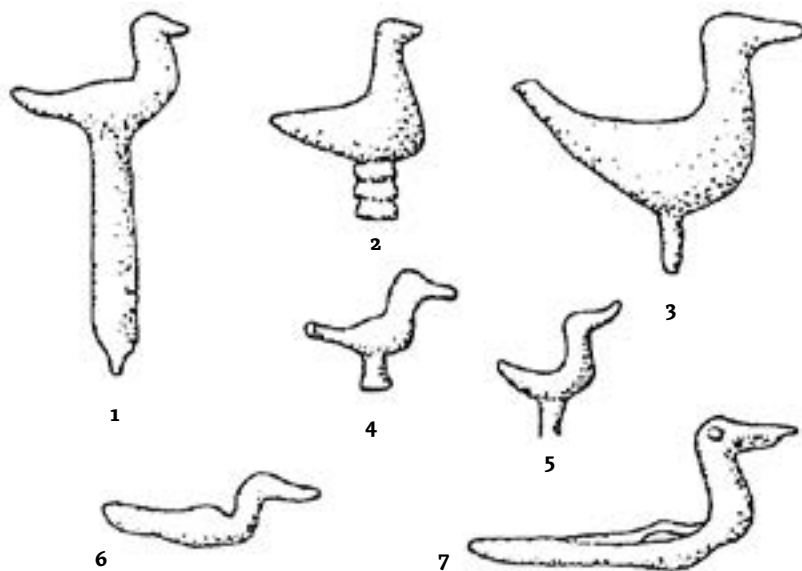


Fig. 45: Birds of bronze. 1–4 Sparta, Artemis Orthia, 5 Siebeneich, Austria, 6 Piersznice Wielke, Silesia, 7 Hader, Bavaria. After Bouzek 2004b.



Fig. 46: Late Geometric birds. 1 Argos, 2-3 Laconian types, 4 Volos, 5 Lindos, 2, 3, 8 Olympia, 6 Corinth, 7 and 9 Central Greece, 8 Rhodes. After HG.

PART 3: FROM SUBMYCENAEAN TO MIDDLE GEOMETRIC

3.1 SUBMYCENAEAN AND SUBMINOAN

The Submycenaean in its full sense is much better known from cemeteries than from settlements. Its initial transition from LH III C is best known in Argos (Deshayes 1966),¹ so the new style arose probably in the Argolid, as was these with the Close and Granary styles earlier. But the development in Athens and Salamis could not have started much later. In Athens the Submycenaean style (**fig. 47**) is not contemporary with the end of the Perati cemetery, as supposed earlier, but the Athenian cemeteries arose after Perati (HG 89–91). Technical and artistic level of Submycenaean pottery is lower than preceding LH III C, but potter's wheel and glazed decoration persisted (Lemos 2002, 7–9). The main motifs are wavy line and by hand sketched concentric semi-circles and triangles. Of the earlier shapes the stirrup vase is still represented, but most of other vases have predecessors in LH III C only. Amphorae with belly-handles and pitchers with trefoil rim are decorated with bosses, so they seem to be of “female” character (**figs. 34.16, 63**). The basic drinking vessels, skyphoi follow the earlier tradition, while lekythoi are the most common toilet oil containers in graves, outnumbering larger stirrup vases. Hand-made pottery has roughly similar shapes as wheel-made, its technique seems to follow that of the earlier Barbarian Ware. In western Greece it outnumbers painted ware, as e.g. in Delphi. Some of them remind one of the Vergina vases (**fig. 54**), fluted pyxis and other vessels with incised or channelled decoration show relations further northwards (**figs. 24, 26–27**). The style in its broader sense is known from Thessaly, Thebes and from Poseidi in Chalcidice in the north, in Euboea and in large parts of the Peloponnese—Argolis, Corinthia, Elis, in several Ionian colonies in Asia Minor and in the Dodecanese (Desborough 1972, 20–35, cf. 64–105; Styrenius 1967). Some elements of the Proto-White-Painted pottery in Cyprus seem to be derived from Submycenaean or Early Protogeometric. In Messenia the style contemporary with Submycenaean is called Dark Age I and its decoration is very simple, nearly no patterns

1 According to volume, *LH III C chronology and synchronism III*, 2007 (ed. S. Deger-Jalkotzy) LH III C late dates 1100–1080, Submycenaean belongs to ca. 1070/40–1000 BC.

are recorded from Nichoria (Coulson 1986). In Lefkandi there seems to be a gap between LH III C settlement and the first graves in the cemetery.

Settlement deposits are known from Submycenaean in Tiryns, Asine, Mycenae, Kalapodi and Iolkos.

The Kerameikos volume I by W. Kraiker and K. Kübler published just before the Second World War was a great step forward, and with the old publication of Salamis graves by S. Wide², remains the base for any further study. The supplementary material published by Ruppenstein is much smaller (34 graves, nos. 115–134), but the author returned to the earlier corpus and analysed the whole cemetery. He minutiously describes and discusses the pottery, but original reports of the excavators (mainly, as in other volumes, of Karl Kübler) are nearly nowhere mentioned. In contrast to Styrenius, Ruppenstein distinguishes four phases of Submycenaean (Ruppenstein 2007; Styrenius 1967).

Parallel to Sub-Mycenaean style of the early 12th century, the Subminoan style on Crete brought first of all reduction in ornament—concentric semi-circles and undulating curves, wavy-lines are almost the only decorative elements. Figural representations almost disappeared; only exceptionally rough linear drawings appear depicting goddess or priestess with raised hands, hunters and mountain goats on Crete (cf. **figs. 56** and **68.4** for PG).

Against the earlier chamber tombs of families sub-Mycenaean burials (mainly skeleton ones) are cist graves (cf. **fig. 50**) of individuals, for whom the family ties counted less than for those in family tombs, which continued to be used in northern Thessaly. The bronze jewellery is common, namely bow fibulae with Adriatic parallels, pins related to those from NW Balkans and Central Europe (**fig. 49.1–4**) and finger rings (**figs. 49.14–19**), but not weapons; they were probably too much needed in everyday life (**fig. 49.10**). Sub-Mycenaean style started in the Argolis (Deiras), the main centre of Mycenaean civilization, but the following Protogeometric style originated in Athens and Thessaly.

Contrary to legends connected to Mycenae and other Mycenaean centres where heroes possessed by pride ended by violent death in tragedies; Athenian kings according to tradition gave up their power, moved from Acropolis down to small house on the Agora and through their humbleness they enabled future prosperity. Athens became a centre where refugees from the Dorian invasion in the Peloponnese came; they continued from there to Ionia in Asia Minor that soon grew up into the most developed part of Greek world.

2 The EPG finds from Salamis exhibited in the Pireus Museum show similar continuous development as in Athens.

WEAPONS AND ARMOUR

The series dated LH III C late to Submycenaean can well be compared with the “second wave” of European influence by V. Miložčić. The Naue I Ib swords with prolonged pommel-support came to the Aegean slightly earlier.³ The Catling III sword from Moulana dates probably slightly before 1200, the Catling II b swords from Central Greece (**fig. 48.1–2**) are not well datable, but apparently preceding the Protogeometric period (Palaiokastro from LH III C). The full-grip daggers first appear at the transition from Submycenaean to Protogeometric. The last Mycenaean horned swords were found in the Submycenaean graves in Palea Elis. For the first time appear spearheads with faceted shaft and small spearhead of oval shape (HG 93–96; AAE 152–167).⁴

The Tiryns grave dated at the transition between Submycenaean and Protogeometric contained comb helmet of bronze in openwork, probably attached to a leather cap (**fig. 48.4**); its decoration resembles the helmet from Pass Lueg in Austria. The band may perhaps have been part of a leather corselet. The shield bosses (**fig. 48.5–6**) have predecessors from Moulana and Kaloriziki and successors in Protogeometric graves (**fig. 62.3**); similar representations are known from Sardinia (HG 95, AAE 167–75). Two short iron swords have parallels in Protogeometric Kerameikos, the long laurel-shaped spearhead starts the development to bigger heads, used as the main weapon later. The absence of weapons in most Submycenaean graves may be the result of the unsettled political situation: weapons were too much needed by the living.

FIBULAE AND DECORATIVE OBJECTS OF BRONZE

From the violin-bow fibulae bow fibulae developed probably at the same time around the Adriatic and in Greece (**fig. 51**); those with simple bow are characteristic for Submycenaean graves, special shapes are twisted and with two knots on the bow, and the violin-bow fibulae with flattened bow are also represented (**fig. 49.7**). Of the long pins which are becoming characteristic for fastening peplos and/or chiton on the shoulders four main types can be distinguished. The first type is formed by vase-shaped pins, whose globe is sometimes of glass or ivory bead. The second type is formed by pins with elongated biconical head and flat cap. The third variety, known from Crete, Argos, Attica and northern Greece, has larger globe in the centre of the head, surrounded above and below by smaller globes, and the cap is missing

3 Cf. now Pabst 2013, 105–152, esp. maps of distribution of Sprockhoff Ib swords and Peschiera fibulae.

4 Local specifics Bouzek 1979b, 49–52.

(**fig. 49**). The fourth type known for ex. from Argos and Prosymna is similar to the European club-headed type, while some pins from Kaphi are cruder and cannot be ascribed to any of the preceding. The first type seems to have preceded the second in Athens and Argos, and all of them have rather close European parallels all over the area where weapons and armour described above (p. 89) was distributed. They show that in Greece new female dress was common in most parts of Europe, and that the fashion of peplos and chiton came to Greece from the north, partly via Italy, partly across the western Balkans (HG 93–95, AAE 152–169; Lemos 2002, 108–130). The PG fibulae and pins took more sophisticated forms (**fig. 62.5, 7–9, 11–12**). Semiglobular bowls may have served also as helmets (**fig. 62.10**). Swords are of iron, as the rare trunnion axes (**fig. 62**). Of particular interest are also fine shield bosses (cf. **figs. 48.5–6, 62.3**).

The shield rings from Kerameikos and from the Dictaeon cave have parallels in Macedonia and in North Italy (**fig. 49.14–19**). They may have derived from Mycenaean signet rings, but are decorated in simple repoussé with pointed rosettes and multiple swastika, apparently important solar symbols. Simple rings of sheet bronze or wire are the most common jewellery. Spiral bracelets are represented, as well as small hair spirals, but heavy bracelets of rods are exceptional (**fig. 62.6**). Either the higher cost of raw material is responsible, or they were considered barbarian. Glass beads are common, apparently together with faience beads of Phoenician production. Amber was available, but very rare, against LH III C (HG 95, AAE 168–181).

FUNERAL RITE

The prevailing funeral rite in Athens and elsewhere was that of individual cist graves (**fig. 50**); every dead received his or her individual cist; the family chamber tombs remained only in marginal regions. The table given for Kerameikos shows that cremations became more common only in the transitional period between Submycenaean and Protogeometric (HG 97–99, AAE 205–207, GAE 73–78, here **fig. 60** and **table 1**).

In northern Greece and the areas north of it the cist graves and/or cremations are placed under tumuli (**fig. 52**), and apparently the tumuli were not rare even in Greece proper, but the denudation left only few traces of barrows and stone enclosures. The funerals in collective tombs in northern Thessaly published by Dakoronia and Deger-Jalkotzy show fluent continuity from LH III C to Protogeometric, as well as the chariots (Crouwel 2006).⁵

5 Deger-Jalkotzy 2009, and *Brandbestattungen von der mittlern Donau bis zur Ägäis, zwischen 1300–750 v. Chr.*, 221–229. Cf. *Cremation Burials 2013* and Dakoronia – Deger-Jalkotzy 2001.

Table 1

Inhumations	SM 1	SM 2	SM 3	SM 4	Transition	PG
cists	23	18	9	5	3	9
shafts	–	3	9	7	4	2
pit graves	–	–	–	3	2	3
cremations						
urn	–	1	3	4	9	48
pit	–	–	–	1	2	10
Total	23	22	21	20	20	72

Interesting phenomenon is the close resemblance in burial rite (**fig. 50**) and grave offerings between Greece and Macedonia: Early Iron Age Vergina and Dion cemeteries show the same basic shapes of pottery (**fig. 54**), even if hand-made, and closely similar bronze objects—dress fasteners, ornaments and weapons; the “barbarian” components of the Submycenaean culture were closely related to those in Macedonia (GAE, 196–7). The strict burial rite of free men and women does not show significant differences of social position of the deceased. The social rite shows rather egalitarian society, much different from earlier times. On the Peloponnese one can speak about Dorians prevailing after the Dorian invasion, but Attica and Salamis cemeteries are situated outside the later Dorian territories (cf. Lewantowski 2000).

CRETE

The Subminoan in Crete was also a short period. New analysis of Karphi finds confirmed that the city lived until the Protogeometric period. In Knossos no architecture is known, but the rich cemeteries show that the population continued and its number was not unimportant. The tradition of the Close Style persisted on some vases, but many vases are only covered by black glaze. The mounted hunter on a Subminoan vase belongs to few figural representations, but figurines of goddesses with raised hands and long cylindrical skirt persist also until Protogeometric (**fig. 56**). The second group of European-derived bronzes, among them the small bronzes from the Dictaeon cave and the warrior grave from Mouliana yield the most important evidence; bow fibulae, pins and the sword with grip with protrusion may well have arrived here via Italy (HG 99–101, GAE 98–103). Inhumations in chamber tombs continue to be the most usual funeral rite. Some imports of Egyptian or Levantine origin never ceased to reach Crete completely, but their number was very limited. Eastern Crete with its Eteocretan population prevailing took in the field of pottery style a way differing from those in the north and south of the island and even its definition differs (Tsiopoulou 2005).

Several cremations are known, but no cist graves. Most settlements are off sea, to enable protection against pirates, like at the time of the Arab 7th century AD piracy, but several forts on the promontories may well have been nests of the Sea Peoples, if they were not abandoned prior to Submycenaean.

The earliest clay and bronze figurines from Olympia, Delphi and other sites show two sources: the Phoenician smiting god, the European wooden and clay primitive figures, models of Greek xoana and very schematic bronze reliefs (**fig. 37**).

SUMMARY

The Submycenaean period and its Subminoan variety in Crete represent the period of deepest decline of the Mycenaean culture, the extent and size of settlements sank even against LH III C. Attic potters for the first time took the lead from their colleagues in the Argolis, but the artistic level was modest and the number of motifs used very limited. While the late LH III B destructions can best be ascribed to the Sea Peoples and their allies coming from distant areas of Italy and NW Balkans, the destructions of settlements in later III C can best be compared with the legends of the Dorian invasion and the Return of the Heraclites (cf. HG 103). The change of sorts of cereals, and new bigger race of cattle, as documented in Kastanas in the north and Nichoria in Messenia especially, but probably also elsewhere (GAE 20–22 with bibl.), together with new elements in wooden architecture (GAE 64–65; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997b), can also be compared with the anthropological analyses; the Submycenaean and Protogeometric skeletons show much higher percentage of Alpine and Dinaric types than it was the case earlier.⁶ The situation in Athens does not differ much from that in the Argolis, so even Athens took more from the Doric or Northwest Greek population; it seems to be in accordance with the Doric elements in the Attic dialect (Styrenius 1967, 163; cf. Chadwick 1956a, 42 ff.). The immigrants may have come to Attica via Argolis (Deshayes 1966, 240 ff., 249; Styrenius 1967, 161–163).

6 For Athens, Agora, cf. Angel 1945, 323–6 318f: of 28 Mycenaean skeletons 3 Alpine type, of 25 Submycenaean 8 Alpine; for Kerameikos Breitingner, Kerameikos I, 244–52: of 18 examined Submycenaean skeletons were 8 of the Mediterranean type, 5–7 Alpine, 1 Dinaric.

Table 2

	Number of skeletons	Mediterranean	Mixed Mediter- ranean-Balkan	Alpine-dinaric
Mycenaean	46	28	10	8
Submycenaean/	5	1	4	–
Protogeometric	5	–	4	1

On the mainland, and partly on the islands, too, the chamber familial tombs disappear and cist graves, destined for one individual only, are the prevailing burial rite—a step towards the individualisation—change of identity towards the Iron Age Greek mind. The distribution of them and the earlier date of some of them under barrows in the Balkans suggest that they were probably adopted from the north, from Epirus and Macedonia at least. The pins and the bow fibulae, both of northern origin, show new dress fashion, as do some of bronze ornaments and weapons (flange-hilted swords, new varieties of spearheads). Also the hand-made pottery has close parallels in Macedonia (Vergina, Dion). Already J. L. Myres derived the most popular motif on Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery—concentric semicircles and circles—with the Urnfield *Buckelkeramik*, and both may well have similar symbolic meaning—solar symbols and symbols of breasts of the Nature Goddess.

The Dorians were according to the legends related to other Greeks, but less sophisticated, and they took over the power in most parts of the Peloponnese, in the Dodecanese and in several cities of Crete. Their language was considered by John Chadwick as that of the low-class against the high-class dialect of Linear B (cf. above p. 92).

The Ionians, who were not subdued by the Dorians, fled to Attica and from there to later Ionia in the islands and on Anatolian coast, as shown by Torone and Mende, also northwards to Chalcidice (Tiverios 2008, 4–15; cf. for Ionia Vanschoonwinkel 2006, 115–140). The close relation between Arcadian and Cypriot is in accordance with strong pottery influence from Attic Early Protogeometric in Cypriot Proto-White-Painted pottery, as shown already by Desborough (1972).

As usually interpreted, Submycenaean and Subminoan periods mark the deepest involution between the Bronze and Iron Ages in Greece; the following Protogeometric the first steps of new evolution towards the grandeur of Iron Age Greece.

3.2 PROTOGEOMETRIC (LATE 11TH AND 10TH CENTURY BC)

In the 1969 book (HG 105–117) the Protogeometric was called the deepest period of decline, but now the beginnings of recovery seem to be more important feature. In reality, Protogeometric period was a new start, though still modest, of the Greek Iron Age civilisation. The traditional date of the beginnings ca. 1025 BC was doubted by several C14 dates from the north, so 1050 seems to be the possible date, too, as the slightly earlier date of the earliest Geometric style from 925 to late 10th century (cf. Desborough 1972; Lemos 2002; Brandherm – Trachsel 2008, esp. Trachsel 2008, 59–76), but this does not mean any substantial change of the general picture. Greece was less iso-

lated than believed earlier, Protogeometric pottery was known in the Levant (cf. Boardman 2006, 507–510; Coldstream 2008, 480; 2006a, 371) and Phoenician imports are not missing; the earliest Phoenician sanctuary at Kommos in southern Crete dates from the 10th century (Bouzek 1997a, 162; cf. Shaw 1989, 165–183). New groups were established as larger units; in Attica the synoicism belonged most probably to Early Protogeometric, as this style is nearly unknown outside the later city of Athens. The larger scale initiatives were in the hands of the Phoenicians; PG Greeks were rather accepting the goods and means of transport from the former, but in modest scale their small initiatives started to overcome the depression.

POTTERY

The first sign of the new style is the use of compass with multiple brush for concentric circles and semicircles (**figs. 61 and 63, pls. B 7.5 and 14.1**). This kind of decoration needed much skill and concentration, because repairing of the design on the vessel was impossible; the first attempt was the only one. Also the technique of firing improved, the slip on the surface was of better quality. Aesthetically, the Protogeometric pottery is not unattractive. Five, sometimes seven circles might mean the cosmic spheres, but the whole is either solar motif or the female breasts; the parallel in the European Urnfields pottery is apparent. Other popular ornaments are triangles, lozenges, bands, chessboards, wavy lines and zigzag. Most motifs seem to have been derived from textile and basketry (cf. Bouzek 1969b). The Protogeometric style was divided into several provinces, especially characteristic in the late stage.

1. The central area consisted of Attica with East Peloponnese, southern Cyclades, Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos) and Ionia (Miletus, Ephesus, Old Smyrna, etc.)
2. Thessaly with Skyros and northern Cyclades formed the second province, whose peripheral area in the north had another northern variety (mainly amphorae and cups) along the Thracian coast (Catling 1998, 151–187).
3. NW Peloponnese with Ionian islands and the western part of Central Greece had another style, in which other patterns prevailed over concentric circles.
4. The Dark Age Style II in Messenia had also little to do with its eastern neighbour, and the situation in Laconia, still little known, was apparently in a way between Messenia and Argolis (Coulson 1986).
5. Crete with its Protogeometric A and B styles went again its own path (Tsipopoulou 2005; Wallace 2010).

For the first time Attic potters surpassed their colleagues in other parts of Greece, perhaps with the exception of Salamis, where the Early Protogeometric might be better known, if sufficiently published.

The Early (Experimental) Protogeometric started to use compass with multiple brush, thus translating the Submycenaean motif into much more sophisticated version. As mentioned above, the circle, which shows strict separation of individual motif against the earlier running spiral, may show the progress of individualisation of new Iron Age personalities, but also solar symbols and breasts as bosses on the Central European *Buckelkeramik*. The following Ripe phase accomplished the clearly articulated forms of amphorae, lekythoi and cups. Most of the surface remained in the colour of clay, while in the Late Phase most of the surface was covered by black glaze or with dense ornament (Close Style, of textile inspiration). Foot, neck and rim are sharply divided from the body, being considered independent parts of the whole vessel. Of the two varieties of amphorae the slimmer neck-handled amphora was used for male cremations and the more rounded belly-handled amphora for burned bones of females (**fig. 63**); the two vases were abstract symbols of ideal forms of both sexes, as much later kouroi and korai or Doric and Ionic orders. The ideal of female body was, however, rather rounded, not as slim as most of the Archaic korai are.

Trefoil oinochoe and hydria were popular shapes, lekythoi are well represented in graves, the most common drinking cups—skyphoi have high conical foot. Many shapes imitate basketry and textile ornaments are common, especially in the late phase (Close Style) with metopes and triglyphs; three lines divide all bands and fields, as was also common rule later in Geometric Style.

Transitional Submycenaean/Protogeometric and Early Protogeometric pottery is known from Athens, Lefkandi and Chalcis on Euboea, from Delphi, Nea Ionia near Volos Tiryns, Argos, Mycenae, Asine and Corinth, the Ripe (Middle) Protogeometric from Athens, Salamis, Lefkandi, Skyros, Kalapodi, Nea Ionia, Mycenae, Tiryns and Asine in the Argolid, in Kos and Ephesus (Lemos 2002, 10–18; for Ephesus cf. Kerschner 2004, 72–92). All local facies seem to have taken inspiration from Athens, whose inspiration is also known from Cyprus (Desborough 1972). In Miletus, Ephesus and elsewhere in Ionia, as well as in the Chalcidice (Mende), it is the first pottery style of the Ionian settlements.

Late Protogeometric vases have more extended distribution and the number of finds is higher. Late Protogeometric is known again from Athens, elsewhere the main sites are Lefkandi, Kalapodi in Phokis, Iolkos in Thessaly; this style is well represented in the Argolis (Argos, Asine, Mycenae, Tiryns), in the Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos), where it seems to have taken inspiration from the Argolis, and in Asian Ionia (Old Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, Assarlik), where the style is still similar to Attic models (**fig. 59**).

It is known also from the sites in Cyprus, Phoenicia and Palestine (Israel). The skyphoi with pendent semicircles were found also in Sardinia, Sicily and

South Italy, though some of them are rather sub-Protogeometric (Bouzek 1985, 151–159). In the west they preceded the foundations of Greek colonies, and in the East they became popular painted drinking cup even outside Greece proper. The genuine Protogeometric is again missing in the west, where only some aspects of the style were adopted, like in Achaia (Derveni), or even less of them in Laconia (Amyklai). Concentric circles are rare, more often appear hatched and cross-hatched bands, rhombs and triangles. Twisted handles and incised patterns remind one of the situation in the north. The contemporary vases from Ithaca (Aetos, Polis Cave) preserved more of LH III C traditions, while the Dark Age II style of Messenia shows only some aspects comparable with the PG style proper.

In Northern Crete the PG style arose not much later than in Athens. The Middle PG style belonged to late 9th century, the late phase to early 9th, followed by the Protogeometric B, which shows floral ornaments and other features comparable otherwise with Orientalising art.

COOKING POTS

This class, briefly discussed in AAE (p. 197–198) formed the main object of study of the Ph.D. thesis by K. Reber (1991), who sufficiently studied its development in two main centres where more material is available, Athens and the Argolis. The bulk of the material from graves consists of cooking pots, but there were other shapes commonly used in the settlements. Reber distinguishes the Dark Ware of the Attic tradition and the Light Ware of the Argolis, but since the colour varies and often depends on the position of the pot in the kiln, the second distinctive feature deserves more attention: the Attic class usually contains more sandy particles, while the clay of the Argive class is normally finer, and contains less sand.

The jugs follow roughly the development of painted wheel-turned pottery, and this can be said also about most of the other shapes. They were made professionally by potters, but the composition of the clay differed from the “normal” of the wheel-made pottery in most places (cf. Reber 1991, 39 f. for Lefkandi, p. 38): apparently the different technique was adapted for the different use of this ware. Some of the roots of this class may derive from a non-Aegean tradition (cf. above), but cooking ware was a normal part of the equipment of PG, Geometric and Archaic households.

“ATTIC” INCISED WARE

This particular class started in 10th century BC Athens, having some fore-runners in a group of Submycenaean hand-made pyxidae. After my small monograph with two brief addenda (Bouzek 1974c; 1979a, 8–11; Bouzek 1985,

200–201; Bouzek 2013a, 61–69) this particular class has also been studied by Reber (Reber 1991, 118–139). He rejects any Balkan connections for this ware (Reber 1991, 168–171), but his arguments only show that his own hypothesis of its origin being “just an idea developed by a local potter at Athens” is much weaker than the previous Balkan theories based on comparisons with the shapes known there (**fig. 59**).

But all of the clay dolls, pyxidae, bowls with pierced holes for suspension and decorated beads seem to be copies of wooden models made especially for some cult purposes connected with female cremation burials. Many religious phenomena came to Greece from Thrace (cf. ch. 9), and this class may well reflect one aspect of one of these religious movements. Most of the northern parallels come from the central part of the Balkans, i.e. from western Thrace (cf. Bouzek 1974a, 38; and Bouzek 1985, 200–201). Addenda to the list published in my monograph were given in the *Festschrift Benzi* article quoted above and by Reber. Outside Attica, those from Asine and Zagora are important, and many new beads can be added now to the Cretan class. Painted dolls have since been published also from Skyros (cf. **fig. 68**) and the Cypriot class by V. Karageorghis.⁷

THESSALY AND MACEDONIA

The northern PG style discussed by R. W. Catling knew especially amphorae and skyphoi,⁸ while the main cemeteries in southern and central Macedonia yielded pottery shapes basically similar (Bouzek 1985, 183–191) to Greek PG, but hand-made, of grey colour and only rarely decorated by flutes or incised lines. Amphoriskoi jugs and skyphoi were the most common shape, besides bowls, some of them resembling baskets.

Another specific of this region is the Matt-Painted Pottery, dating from LH III C to PG periods (Bouzek 1997a, 156–160).

For the Bobousti class of painted pottery, produced in the area along the big lakes in Northwest Greece, south-eastern part of Slavonic Macedonia and in Southeast Albania, it became clear that its development started roughly in the 12th century BC, in connection with an influence of peripheral LH III C pottery, and that it was produced throughout the Dark Age until the 7th century BC (**figs. 106–107**).

7 Notes on the origin of the Cypriot wheelmade terracotta figurines, in *Ithaka*, *Festschr. J. Schäfer*, 77–84.

8 Cf. note 4.

Of the more general surveys of this style, those of K. Wardle and A. Hochstätter are the most useful,⁹ besides the classification suggested for the Epirot branch by A. Vokotopolou (Vokotopoulou 1986, 255–276), by those by A. Prendi for the Tren cave stratigraphy and by Z. Andrea for the Kuç i Zitumuli.¹⁰ Everywhere we see the development from simple stage, in which the decoration imitates binding of vessels, to a more ripe style of the advanced Dark Age, with ornaments also known from Greek Geometric pottery, and finally to a decadent style of the Subgeometric period, when simple strips again prevail. The main centre of production was around the big lakes near the boundary between present-day Greece, Albania and Slavonic Macedonia, but it was also known more to the east in Western and Central Macedonia and in Northern Thessaly.

The Matt-Painted Pottery of Vitsa Zagoriou, a mountain site (1030 m above the sea level) is a local, rather poorly executed variety of the Bobousti Ware. The shapes are basically identical with those known from sites at lower altitude, but the technique is poorer (with the exception of some fragments found outside the graves, which were probably imports). Most of the pots are crudely made, but sometimes with a lustrous coating or a creamy or yellow slip. Vokotopoulou distinguishes three classes, belonging to different pottery traditions, and 3–4 workshops. Some ornaments in Vitsa are unusual, but the basic repertory of decoration is identical with the main Bobousti group. Vokotopoulou classifies the general development of Matt-Painted Pottery in northern Greece into two main stages (Vokotopoulou 1986, 255–276).

I. 12th–10th centuries BC (known from Kastritsa, Dodona, Pedina near Zagori, Merope and Vitsa, finds outside the graves).

II. 9th–7th centuries BC: local pottery of Vitsa, contemporary with those of Marmariani, Velestino and Pharsala. She sees some resemblances of this Bobousti pottery with the Ithacan style, and some links can be seen more clearly after the renewed analysis of the Polis pottery by W. D. Coulson (1991), who enlightened its relations with West Peloponnesian schools.

METAL OBJECTS

Iron—at first as a rare metal—was known to the Hittites and their northern neighbours (Kaška) much earlier than the time we are dealing with here.¹¹ The spread of small iron implements in Cyprus (first) and the Aegean dates

9 Wardle 1977, Hochstätter 1984, cf. also Bouzek, MB II, III, and IV. The other survey in Kilian 1971, 35–40) is too general and does not distinguish between local groups, but it has shown similarities with the South Italian styles.

10 Prendi 1966, 1975, Andrea 1985 and esp. 1993 for the relations to the more easternly areas of Macedonia, and also Bodinaku 1990, 65–97.

11 Cf. for general surveys T. A. Wertime – J. D. Muhly, eds., 1980; Stig-Sørensen – Thomas 1989.

from the 12th century BC and the transition from Submycenaean to Protogeometric saw the coming of the Iron Age into Greece. One of the reasons why it spread was the collapse of the copper and tin trade network.¹² After 1000 BC, weapons and large implements of bronze became exceptional in the Aegean (cf. Snodgrass 1971, 213–240; Bouzek 1989, 36–38). A second reason was also the fact that only half of the wood was needed for melting iron from the ore than for bronze (**fig. 81**).

In the Protogeometric period iron weapons and tools prevail considerably, as shown already by the statistic table in the first edition of HG, p. 116. The bronze sword and the two daggers belong to the beginnings of the style. Only spearheads of bronze continued to be used, perhaps inherited from earlier times. Cf. **fig. 62**.

WEAPONS

Iron flange-hilted swords of the Sprockhoff IIa tradition from Protogeometric contexts use to have only two rivets in the grip (**fig. 48.2**). The shape is near to bronze swords of Catling types IIb and IV, and to the West Balkan swords of similar date, for which I used the name Donja Dolina (Bouzek 1971c; Harding 1995; now Harding 2007, 2013, ed.); the protrusion for fixing pommel has not been noticed among published items. Against their Geometric successors they are shorter and heavier. Some of the daggers preserved remains of organic grip; they have parallels in the Balkans, too. Most of the spearheads are of iron, but bronze spearheads were still in use. Longer spearhead in shape of laurel leaf was popular, another shorter of similar form (javelin for throwing? **fig. 62.4**) and a third variety of rhomboid shape and thicket width at the socket, Snodgrass types A.C.G). The socket is usually shorter than with Geometric spearheads. Probably two of them belonged to the equipment of a noble warrior. The bow was less common weapon outside Crete, the arrowheads are rare on the Greek mainland.¹³

Table 3

	swords	spearheads	daggers	knives	axes
bronze	1	8	2	–	–
iron	20 + x	30 + x	8	15	4

The chariot with burial of two horses is known from the Hero Grave at Lefkandi (Lefkandi II, 2, 1993, part 2, Bouzek 1985, 27–28 etc.), it is frequently

12 Bouzek 1985, 175–176. For Cyprus and the Aegean Sherratt 1993, 59–106.

13 Snodgrass 1971, 141–4, from Lefkandi and Pherai Lemos 2002, 122f.

mentioned in the *Iliad* and also represented on Late Mycenaean and Geometric vases. Horse bits are known from LH III C contexts, from Hero Tomb and T 68 at Lefkandi and from Early Geometric Grave 27 on the Athenian Agora. It is hardly believable that it belonged to legends only.

The helmet from Tiryns has been mentioned above (**fig. 48.4**), the shield buckles in shape reminding one of shield on Sardinian figurines are well represented in male graves (**figs. 48.5–6** and **62.3**). The items in bronze prevail, the Kynosarges iron buckle is an exception.¹⁴ Smaller items were part of female belts at Vergina, but other similar objects in Europe, Caucasus and Luristan served as shield bosses and/or phalerae (cf. here part 8, ch. 3).

METAL VESSELS

The bucket from Lefkandi, Heros grave is import from Cyprus, as probably are the LH III C tripods. Their existence is known from ceramic imitations, and from a Lefkandi mould, but they were probably very rare objects, and their basketry version much more common, as for the kalathoi. The semi-globular bowls (**fig. 62.10**), which probably served also as cap helmets, were common in the Eastern Mediterranean in LH III C and later; PG are known from Athens and Crete. A bronze pitcher is known from Moulia, and more of them are imports from the Levant or Egypt (cf. Bouzek AAE, 104; AAG, 96–97; Matthäus 1979, 1980).

The simple iron knives of iron do not differ much from their predecessors. In Athens they appear mainly in male graves, but in Lefkandi not with weapons. Lemos 2002, p. 123 (cf. Desborough 1952, 311f) gave a list of them from Lefkandi, Locris, Thessaly and the Dodecanese; only one item from Kos, Serraglio, is still of bronze (Morricone 1978, 219, fig. 433).

The whetstone from Lefkandi Pyre 16 (Lefkandi I, 163 pl. 153:2) reminds of whetstones in Cimmerian graves. The trunnion axes of iron are known from Athens (**fig. 68.2**), Lefkandi and Hefaisteia, they have parallels also in Herakleion-Mastaba and Nea Anchialos near Thessaloniki, from Protogeometric and Early Geometric contexts. They are known from the Balkans and from the North Caucasus area; in Greece they bear witness, together with horse burial and the whetstone, of an influence from the so-called Cimmerian milieu, of which more was attested in the Balkans, in Dark Age Greece (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 105f). Their appearance in graves with weapons shows that they belonged

14 Cf. Lemos 2002, 124 and Fellmann 1984, 16, 68–118. Some of the items from Olympia may be phalerae, but hardly those with pike. The Sardinian figurines are well known, and if the shield was sewn from several parts, the crossing of the main seams in the middle had to be especially protected. The helmet hypothesis is very unlikely, but later also cymbals had similar form. Cf. Bouzek, GAE, 106–138; Bouzek 1985, 99–106.

rather to warfare, while the double axe remained as basic carpenter's tool until the Classical period.

Pins in PG context are rare, but certainly they continued being used, as shown by their Submycenaean predecessors and Early Geometric successors. In fact, they do not differ much from the former (**fig. 62.7–9**), and the A and B types were the main varieties (Bouzek 1985, 160–167; 1997, 117; Lemos 2002, 103–8). Fibulae used to have two knots and the central part of the bow is thickened (**fig. 62.11–12**). The general impression of both pins and fibulae is that they arrived a more sophisticated stage, better representing the new generations with higher demands.

Finger rings are rarer in graves than in Submycenaean period, but some of those found in Lefkandi are of gold. But even the shield rings were still in use. Coil spirals, part of hairdo, were also of gold in Lefkandi and in Thessaly, similar shorter spirals (“wire hoops”) are also widely known, usually made of gold.

Roundels of gold sheet with spiraliform ornaments have their predecessors in the hoard under Artemision on Delos, but also earlier in Italy and Central Europe (**fig. 5**); they were calendar and solar symbols (cf. Bouzek 2011d 42, fig. 35b; Jung 2007).¹⁵ They are known from Lefkandi and Skyros. Sheets of gold foil called “attachments” and resembling “Gamaschenhälter” are known from Lefkandi and Skyros; they were parts of ornate fashion dress including also gold bands – diadems, which are first decorated with simple geometric ornaments, and later, in Geometric times, with animal and human figures in repoussé. The bands resemble Cypriot jewellery, as does the pectoral of sheet gold from the Toumba burial; it has, however, parallels in decorative parts of cuirasses in Central Europe and in gold sheets from Macedonian graves, dating first from 8th century and in more sophisticated shapes, like at Duvanli, dating from 6th century BC.

The female burial in Toumba was given necklace with a central pendant, thirty eight gold and two faience beads; the pendant resembles earlier Near Eastern models. The pendant from Toumba Tomb 63 resembles the Cimmerian jewellery with Maltese crosses inside the circle, the four-sided Earth under circular dome of the sky; also the spiral ornaments—beads attached to it, find their parallels there (Lemos 2002, 126–131; Lefkandi II, 2, pl. 15–16). As the iron trunnion axes and the horse burials from Toumba point also into this direction, the North Pontic and/or Balkan inspiration for the pendant is more likely. The crescent-shape pendant Lemos pl. 105:2, however, fits into what is considered usually Phoenician jewellery of the Dark Age.; parallels come also from the Iberian peninsula. Glass beads, abundant in Lefkandi, are in all probability of Phoenician origin, imported from the Levant. The

15 Later finer esp. from Skyros I. Marangou, BCH 99 1975, 365–378.

figural motifs are rare, but instead of later angular stylisation working with soft curves (**fig. 45.1**).

Settlements are less well known than cemeteries. Euboea with Skyros and Thessaly show rather extensive settlements, but of architecture little is known. Several rectangular and one apsidal house were found in Asine (Mazarakis Ainian 1997ab, Asine II, 4, 2–3, 33f., 82). In Argos a house of mud-bricks and an installation for refining silver; there were probably was found clusters of houses at the slope of the hill Larissa, some evidence comes also from Tiryns and Corinth. The most attractive and well-dated building is the house of the Lefkandi hero, but several early temples may be contemporaneous (Mazarakis Ainian 1997ab).

Delphi and Kalapodi have cult activities throughout the Dark Ages, in Thessaly Nea Ionia (Iolkos) show rather intensive settlement. Cyclades may show some continuity, especially Grotta on Naxos, Koukounaries on Paros and Minya on Amorgos (Lemos 2002, 139–149), while some kind of continuity of sacred place existed in Delos. Several apsidal or oval houses are known from Old Smyrna (**fig. 55.1–2**) and Ephesus, continuity from LH III C to Geometric at Miletus. The Aeolian Grey Ware prevailed in Aeolis, but at Mytilene on Lesbos and also in the north some PG pottery with remains of architecture was found : at Poseidi near Mende, on the hill Koukos in Sithonia and at the Toumba of Thessaloniki; the last can be compared also with the sites further north, Kastanas and Assiros; in both last mentioned sites the continuity from LH III C to Geometric is clear. The same concerns other sites esp. in Thessaly and in the west. Vergina and Dion have large PG cemeteries with hand-made ware and Ithaca (Polis cave) continuous settlement from LH III C to Geometric. Aeolian sites, like Kyme, probably used Aeolian Grey Ware mainly, but the evidence is still unsafe (Bayne 2000). The apsidal and oval architecture was apparently adopted from the only partly settled population more oriented to pasture than to agriculture; the models of huts in Crete (**fig. 65.3**) and Cyprus show some kind of yurts serving similar purpose.

Crete was split into various local town-cores: several modest PG sites in the east have been found, the area of Knossos examined, though with little success as concerns the architecture, while in the east Vrokastro and Kavousi are believed to have existed during the PG period; this may have been the case also for Gortyn. A general survey of East Cretan pottery by Metaxia Tsipopoulou (Tsipopoulou 2005) brings little evidence on settlements, and the number of LH III C sites on inaccessible hills seems to be higher than those of slightly later age.

In general, the new period of Iron Age history in Greece started, the new structure has not much preserved from the past. The architecture was modest, but the main Greek sanctuaries (Delphi, Kalapodi, Olympia) were visited. In the Argolis there seems that large part of the old population remained, in

the west this is more questionable, and nearly in all parts of the peninsula Doric dialect prevailed, so the Dorian population had decisive power here during the Protogeometric period. The close links between Rhodes, Kos and the Argolis may also confirm the Dorian migration to this eastern part of Greece, while Crete (Wallace 2013) makes the impression that it was split into small poleis' areas as it is mentioned by Homer.

In different parts of Greece the burial rite was different and also not always obligatory even in one particular cemetery (cf. HG 123–124; Andronikos 1968, 59–62; Desborough 1952, 306f.; Lemos 2002, 151–190). Individual burials prevail, cist tombs were the most common in most parts of Greece, together with similar pit or shaft tombs without lining of stone slabs, but dug in the rock or softer soil. But some tholoi and chamber tombs were still in use in Phokis (Elateia), Phtiotis (Bikiorema near Lamia), exceptionally also elsewhere and they remained common in Crete (**fig. 75**). They are apparently survivals of the old Mycenaean tradition in areas, where less changes of upper class happened (cf. p. 46). Cremations much prevailed in Athens, they are known also from Euboea, Skyros, Kos, Rhodes and exceptionally also from the Argolis (**fig. 69**). Two types of urns were still typical, each of them for one sex,¹⁶ but there are exceptions from this rule. Attic cremations were put into an urn, but the urn was placed into oblong grave of size necessary for inhumation, with small pit for inserting the urn; first deep to fit for the whole urn and later for half of the urn only (**fig. 65**). Small children were more often inhumed and sometimes put into pithoi, but exceptions exist. As stated above, individual burials existed in the Middle Helladic period and may be considered revivals of the old custom, but in general they put the individual above the family group (cf. above). Cremations are more expensive and they are usually considered as marking a stronger line between the living and the dead, as expressed in messages for the soul in many Books of Dead in various parts of the world. Few cemeteries are known; most of the groups of burials were small and can be interpreted as family plots. Cist tombs were usual in Late Bronze and early Iron Age in Northern Greece and surrounding areas of Macedonia and Albania (**fig. 50**), cremations (**fig. 69**) in most parts of Central Europe and northern Italy during the Urnfield period, and certainly connected with some religious message (Bouzek 1997a, 73–78).

As shown e.g. by R. Hägg (1974) for the Argolis, tumuli were not rare even in the Peloponnese (and, as can be supposed from various notes on digs) and in central Greece, but thanks to denudation only modest remains of them were preserved. But even alternating burial rites e.g. in Athens show that there was not much more than family preference behind choosing cremation to inhumation and vice versa, and cremating families lived together

16 Neck-handled amphorae for men, one-handled jug for women.

with those, who preferred inhumations in most parts of Protogeometric Greece. Noble men had weapons in their graves (**fig. 60**), noble women jewellery. Double burials in Lefkandi probably meant the custom of sati, which was most probably the case of the lady buried together with the Lefkandi Hero. But elsewhere it was exceptional, and the persons buried belonged to *homoioi*—citizens of earliest Iron Age communities, predecessors of the poleis. The society of *homoioi* shows only very few exceptionally rich burials—with the exception of Lefkandi Hero; the concentration of power in the hands of rich aristocracy apparently only started.¹⁷ Probably the central position under a tumulus of the grandfather was more important for his image than the number of pots in the grave; the tumulus remained visible mark.

Weapons were often put into graves of noble men; they were apparently carried at least on some occasions (cf. Thuc. I, 2, 6), but the situation settled more than during Submycenaean period (when they were too much valued to be put into graves?), so they could be given to dead (HG 130). They were already less necessary in everyday life and new sword was also easier to procure for the son and heir. Anyway, already the old statistic shows that half of males were buried in Kerameikos with weapons (HG 129–131) and the situation has not changed substantially (**fig. 60**).

Crete with its external relations (the first Phoenician sanctuary at Kommos dates from 10th century and many other imports from the Levant and/or Egypt are that early); in PG style B it surpassed all its neighbours (Coldstream 2003, 48–50). The small communities using their close environment learned from the previous collapse and could maintain their small economies in rather satisfactory way.

3.3 FROM PROTOGEOMETRIC TO GEOMETRIC

PG was the new start, but the accomplishing of the new Iron Age world was realized only by the Geometric style proper. It created a kind of scaffolding, of full understanding of space and structure.

The Geometric style created a structure of scaffolding that was respected by the whole following development of Greek art. Although later this structure was hidden on the surface, the construction of the works of art was still ruled by it, as well as in architecture, painting and sculpture (Bouzek, GAE 54). Polarity of forces of weight and lift, stretched and supported, was at first only tested as sketches in Geometric painting, before using them for expression of the real forces of carrying and carried, their visualisation in

17 Cf. also the books by Morris 1987 and Whitley 1991, with alternative approaches to the subject.

architectonic orders of Greek temples and in the canon of depiction of human stature that slowly changed to Classical ideal (HG 133–142).

Greek art starts—as other phases of the world stylistic development—by the period of involution. Mycenaean civilization perished because of inner problems, climatic crisis and invasion of barbarians from Europe and the western Mediterranean; the best known of whose are so called Sea Peoples. Together with Mycenaean culture great Hittite empire in Asia Minor perished and part of town states in Syria and Lebanon as well. Part of the Sea Peoples settled after their defeat in Palestine (the best known are Philistines) and by the Syrian coast towns of Phoenicians soon bloomed, whose culture together with sailing, seafaring trade and development of phonetical script strongly influenced the art of the Early Iron Age Greece. The Iron Age brought not only use of new metal, but also new approach to world, new identity.

Greek Geometric art created system of proportional relationships derived mainly from proportional system of human body. This way our own somatic structure was raised into consciousness and relationship of man and universe was renewed on new level. After experiments of Early Style (first half of the 9th century) when vessels were mostly covered with glaze and only small fields on neck, shoulders, and belly were left for geometric decoration, this principle reached its accomplishment in so called Strict Style at the end of the 9th century BC. Individual parts of the vessel correspond in its decoration as if reflected in mirror. The structural system is created for the whole further development of Greek art although this designed pattern did not carry any load of antagonistic forces of weight and lift, the most clearly expressed in Greek architecture. Even here the harmony is reached by careful balance of antagonistic forces (Coldstream 2003, 25–54).

The same is true in rhythmic articulation of time. As Greek metros in poetry, in visual art the laws of rhythm of frieze—at first on pottery—are strictly articulated in rhythm. Triplets of intermediate segments (triglyphs) alternate with bigger fields—metopes. The triplet of lines separates all fields vertically and horizontally. More complicated intermediate segments are separated by fields in horizontal belts. Some rhythms of frieze are more complicated e.g. fivefold (abaca-D-acaba) or even sevenfold intermediate segments; others—mainly outside Attica—also in less strict rhythm, but the basic system is generally respected. The basic principle can be expressed in mathematic formulae, but old Greeks usually made it up by their feeling without necessity to calculate it. As even Roman Vitruvius knew only construction adjusted by eye becomes aesthetically correct. Rhythmic structure similar to Geometric style can be seen also in the structure of Homeric poems. A depiction is static after its completion, but it was created in time and we “read” it in time, too. Using the same metaphor for depicting scene and describing events joins poetry with respecting picture—geometric depiction follows the course

of a story and not the unity of space and time. The Geometric style with its strong linearity was much influenced by textile and basketry. Its strictness developed the abstract background for later proportional and structural laws of later development of Greek Iron Age art. At the first sight primitive art is already ripe and sophisticated. The simple, primitive appearance covers the advanced inner structure; in its abstract appearance it brought for later Greek art the scaffolding. Where the Protogeometric art still went half way from Mycenaean, Geometric art is really new start towards later splendour.¹⁸ The initiatives were modest, more oriented inward, but notably the sub-PG skyphoi show the popularity of the Greek drinking cup in the Levant (**fig. 64**) and in some places in Italy, Sardinia and Sicily. At first as pupils of the Phoenicians, the Greeks learned to participate in overseas trade and at home they learned to establish the cores of later poleis, communities of equals, of citizens.

3.4 EARLY TO MIDDLE GEOMETRIC, 900–775 BC

Phonetic script created by Phoenicians, who as the first developed entrepreneurial spirit of privately run sailing, connected both with trade and piracy, was an outcome of abstraction as well as progress in mathematics and astronomy. It liberated human mind from overloaded memory and it was indispensable step of the progress in speculative philosophical thought. Greeks took over phonetic alphabet most probably in late ninth or early eighth century (cf. Coldstream 2003, 295–303).

Early Geometric style in Attica turned away from the sharp articulation and vessels again are one homogenous unit. Most of the surface is covered by glaze; only small areas are left for decoration (**fig. 67**). The style was deeply influenced by textile and basketry (cf. Bouzek 1969b). From the new motives there is mainly meander and related rectangular patterns; meander is rectangular transcription of fluently running spiral; concentric circles and semicircles disappear. Swastika and related motives were solar symbols (**pl. B 5–7**). The new style was first introduced only in Attica and Argolis. Boeotia and Corinthia joined the Early Geometric soon, in other parts of Greece

18 Cf. B. Schweitzer in *Gnomon* 10 1934, 341: "Man könnte von einem erneuten Hereinbrechen einer prähistorischen Welt, die am Ausfall plastisch-körperlicher und architektonischer Gestaltung am ehesten den prähistorischen Kulturen des nördlichen Europa vergleichbar wäre, sprechen, wenn nicht allenhalben neue, der Zukunft zugewandte Kräfte hervorbrächen und die künstlerischen Bedürfnisse, das Zeitmass ihrer Entwicklung keineswegs den vorgeschichtliche Zuständen ähnlich wäre." In another way, as direct continuation of the Protogeometric style understood the evolution for exc. W. Kraiker (Festschrift B. Schweitzer p. 39, note 16) and R. Hampe (Charites, Festschrift E. Langlotz p. 107, note 10). Cf. HG p. 133.

sub-Protogeometric persisted. In Athens the evolution is smooth, also as concerns the custom to cover most of the surface by shiny black glaze and in the continuity of basic shapes: “male and female” amphorae (cf. **fig. 63**; the shoulder-handled ousted the belly-handled), oenochoe, skyphoi and similar drinking cups, while some of the pyxidae are new shapes, as are the narrow oenochoi replacing the earlier lekythoi. The convexity of ovoid bodies is answered by the concave curve of the neck (cf. Coldstream 2003, 25–54). In the first generations of Early Geometric Style period female burials are usually in shoulder-handled amphorae and male in neck-handled amphorae; the first variety also shows bosses (cf. **fig. 34**). Human body in its two varieties was the model even for vases—human beings were located in the centre of the new anthropocentric world, which should again bring harmony between humans and universe, lost with passing of the Age of Heroes (HG 133–138).

The sharp separation of foot, body, neck and lip is abandoned, and the vessels are perceived more as unity. The search after proper proportional system, taken again from structure of human body, led first to experiments, in which some of the parts were exaggerated or suppressed, but it always returned to try again the most perfect path. Mathematic formulae are behind the system, but they were not calculated, rather expressing the proper sound feeling of the artist. Even nowadays some painters calculate the Gold cut, while other make two perpendicular lines and the results are roughly the same. The system of mutual relations between parts of vessel and to its total shows one of the first steps to order in Greek architecture. Also the system of dividing frieze into fields and dividing three-fold or more complicated members is predecessor of Greek architectonic principles notably of alternating triglyphs and metopes. There existed clear parallels between structural rhythm in visual art, music and poetry; even the drawing of ornament and its reading is process running in time. In the decoration on vases it was only sketched—the relation between carrying and carried, the law of gravitation was not compulsory. Only minor motifs remained from the previous style; concentric circles and semicircles disappear; meander and battlement become the most important motifs. In children psychology the transition from curvilinear to rectilinear drawings is one of signs of development of abstract thought; here it shows the first steps on the path towards Greek philosophy, from mythical thought to logos. Meander is similar to spiral, but with sharper angular turns; giving stricter order. Early Geometric I is tentative style, EG II settles down to a more tranquil state; also the range of motifs and shapes is narrower. In general the style shows more rigid restriction to laws of structure and shapes. The Incised Hand-Made ware continues from PG, but is refined.

Motifs of decoration were of course of symbolic value, but it is difficult to understand them by our eyes. Swastika was always solar symbol, rosette

probably flower from the Tree of Life, meander symbol of the rhythm of human lives in their succession. In modest figural art the Geometric style was expressed in transition from curvilinear to rectilinear forms and to strict respect the three basic directions of the three-dimensional space; the three axial views were the only ones fully understandable.

Geometric style emphasizes more sense for order than its predecessor, probably reflecting the stricter order of common mind in Athens and in those communities which took over the new style; the first laws organizing the life in the society came later, but their predecessors were laid in PG or EG period—the organisation of communities was by the decision of its members, not by the divine laws as in the Bronze Age.

Argolis followed soon Attic models; the decoration shows, however, more austerity and the pointed pyxis has two suspension lugs for hanging; this points out to more “northern” orientation, later emphasized in iconography; skeleton burials in cists were the most usual burial rites. Corinth followed Attic models with some retard. While in the Argolis there was more variation in proportions and shape, Corinthian potters preferred the firm globular shape of the belly more rigidly. Boeotia followed with more modesty Attic path, with less sophisticated sense for correct proportions.

Lefkandi and Thessaly continued to produce pottery in sub-Protogeometric style. Skyphoi with pendent semicircles (**fig. 64.1**) were popular in both areas, as were globular pyxidae, while jugs with cut-away necks and handles with thumb support only persisted in Thessaly. Amphorae used to have narrow necks in relation to more sharply curved body (Coldstream 2003, 73–106). Hand-made cooking pots followed in the earlier tradition. Similar pottery was made in Skyros and the Northern PG style continued in its late variety also in the northern Aegean (Catling 1998, 151–187). SW Peloponnese continued still the production of its Dark Age II ware in Messenia and surrounding areas, as far as known. In the Dodecanese the Early Geometric style starts only in the second half of the 9th century. Samos, Miletus and Ephesus also show in the first half of the 9th century only traces of Attic EG style; most of it was still Sub-Protogeometric.

In the development of Early Geometric style the free field for ornament slowly broadens and proportional structure of vases reaches higher level of perfection, harmonisation. The first peak of Geometric style is reached in the so called Strict Style. At that time the best potters reached balance between decoration and shape, harmony of relations of the whole to individual parts and among the parts. The ratio between decorated and black glazed surface area is at that time 1:1.

Most of Greece followed Athens, and the stylistic evolution followed again similar path. In the Argolis and Corinthia the development was more gradual, the pyxidae are different. The body shapes are more rounded, new

motifs like vertical chevron appear. Fine plain hand-made pottery started in early 9th century and remained popular also as container. Inhumations in cists are the most common burials. The province of Thessaly with Euboea has abandoned the sub-PG style and followed the Attic development, while Boeotia followed it with less fine feeling of proportions. Exceptions were still western Greece, in which Dark Age II style continued in Messenia, and Ithacan “Protogeometric” on the Ionian islands, to some extent Euboea with Cyclades, where only some elements of Attic style were taken over as in Crete. Protogeometric style B in Crete belonging to the first three quarters of the 9th century BC used many floral motives known from elsewhere only from the end of the 8th century and it also uses figural painting more often. Characteristic are cables, flowers, buds, spirals and other to Geometric style foreign elements, a significant precursor of Orientalising art (HG 143–147).

In Crete there is some continuity in all parts of the island, the local Protogeometric style persists notable in the northern plain. Concentric circles and semicircles were popular together with hatched lozenges; the stirrup vase was still used. The traditional chamber tomb remained popular, but in 9th century cremations started to prevail over inhumations. Larger number of pots in graves suggests the existence of funeral feasts, like the pyres in Athens. Several Levantine faience imports in graves show that Crete was not completely isolated, as does the Phoenician sanctuary at Kommos. A tholos tomb found at Gortyn contained over 50 vases, among them also those of 9th century. In Eastern Crete, the local pottery bears little characteristic decoration only (Coldstream 2003, 99–100; Tsipopoulou 2005).

At the end of the 9th century Geometric style was common in the whole Greece (HG 147–150). The early pottery of Rhodes was strongly influenced by Cypriot and Phoenician models. Crete provided finds of bronze vessels, votive shields and other objects produced partly on the spot by Phoenician craftsman and partly imported from the Levant. Even Greek tradition placed there the earliest of legendary sculptors—Daedalus—whose sculptures had to be chained up not to escape. Rich jewel is also produced using granulation made at the beginning probably by Phoenician craftsmen in Athens and elsewhere. It is a self-expression of aristocracy the richest landowners who took over rule of most of communities from older Homeric kings; the latter had only priestly functions.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE

From the 9th century we know small wooden temples from the most of Greek sanctuaries (cf. **figs. 58** and **66**), spectacular houses in the middle of the settlements, as at Zagora on Naxos (resembling Homer’s “palace” in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, **figs. 57–58**) and also more modest houses of the others

(**fig. 55.2-4**). In Ionia real towns began to exist (**figs. 28** and **57**). To Early Geometric belonged a large oval house on the Athenian Agora, with several parallels elsewhere, an apsidal house at Asine and several temple buildings in Greek sanctuaries: the first Samos Heraion, Kalapodi, Thermon belong to the 9th century, as do the earliest fortifications of Old Smyrna (**figs. 55, 58, 80**). Apsidal and round houses belonged to pre-urban architecture of shepherds, similarly as in Etruscan Italy (cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1995 and 2015).

Clay and bronze figurines change from the rounded stylization of Protogeometric style (**figs. 44-45**) towards more rectangular and closer to nature forms (**figs. 85-86**). At the end of the century figural drawing becomes more common on the vases in Athens (**fig. 77.1-2**) and in central Greece and the Greeks adopted phonetic script from the Phoenicians, although the oldest evidence of it belongs to the middle of the next century.

Of metal objects, swords and spearheads are now commonly of iron, pins and fibulae more elaborated than their predecessors (**fig. 72**), and the pins not rarely composed of iron shaft and bronze globe. The trunnion axes are still in use, iron swords use to have broader grip and they are mainly longer than their predecessors. The spearheads from Kerameikos get a broader leaf and longer socket. The shield bosses were also still used, as were other parts of protective armour; most of them was apparently of leather. The splendid corselet with helmet from Argos is an exception. It belongs to mid 8th century (HG 138-141).

Pins and fibulae start to be finer decorated, though this tendency is better marked only in the second half of the 9th century, rings start to be decorated, too. Beads of faience and glass seem to become available also outside Crete and Euboea, but they probably escaped notice in old digs.

FUNERAL RITE

In Attica cremations prevailed (**fig. 69**), but the tomb was still of oblong shape, as for inhumation; the pit for inserting amphora was less deep, so the lower half of the urn was put into it. Sacrificial pyre was put in the other half of the oblong grave. Some vessels were burnt with the deceased, but others, probably containing drinks and food for the journey to the underworld, remained unburned. On the grave a krater stood, serving as a sema, and also container for later libations (Kübler 1954, 24). Weapons in graves are symbols of dignity to be worn, but less often used.

In Rhodes cremations were put in shafts with remains of the burned objects (in one shaft only one dead was buried; Johansen 1957, 9-10). In Crete the cremations were put into chamber or tholos tombs, used for the families. In the Peloponnese, especially in the Argolid, skeleton graves in cists prevailed, as in Kos. Really rich funerals started only in the second half of the

century, but their Early Geometric predecessors also had special equipment (HG 142; cf. Coldstream 2005b).

Lefkandi on Euboea shows relative prosperity, probably based on over-seas trade, in while the initiative was first apparently in the hands of the Phoenicians, through whose activities the faience and glass beads came; the gold objects may have been connected with their interest in gold sources in Thasos already. Crete was more open to the Levant due to its position, as was the Dodecanese, which Anatolian Greeks may have had some contacts already with the inner Anatolian *koiné*, in which Neo-Hittite cities played the decisive role, but in which Assyria and Urartu also participated, together with in gold rich Lydia. But this is only a kind of guess; more can be seen only in the next period. In general, Greece was at that time an isolated country, making a modest second step—after the Protogeometric *ouverture*—towards its later greatness. The general impression is still of small village communities, modest cores of later poleis, with communications rather deteriorating against the 10th century, and small wars continuing; the number of weapons in graves of this period is rather higher than in Protogeometric period (HG 144–146).

Nicolas Coldstream in his book starts his chapter on Middle Geometric with a grave of a pregnant Athenian lady, whose burial on the northern slope of the Areopagus slightly preceded the end of EG II (Coldstream 2003, 55–72). The belly-handled amphora, which served as urn for female burials in PG times, was accompanied by a chest with five model granaries, a symbol of her richness; perhaps her family belonged to the highest Athenian class of *pentakosiomedimnoi*, whose members could produce 500 measures of grain from their estates. 34 painted vases—all but nine in her pyre—belong to the most sophisticated works of their time. Also from her pyre came fragments of 21 handmade incised vessels and nine beads. As we mentioned above, this class only appears in female graves, it shows links with the north, and seems to have belonged to specific religious association of a female deity. Three bronze pins and one of bronze with iron globe, two fibulae and finger ring followed the lady together with six gold rings of thin sheet, three broader with patterns of lozenges and zigzags and repoussé dots on the rim. She had long necklace of more than a thousand faience beads (one large item has a close parallel from Sidon) and especially splendid gold earrings, adorned with granulation and filigree, each of the pair with three small pendants in shape of pomegranates, symbols of fertility. The technique was apparently taken over from a Phoenician master, but the style is Greek Geometric.

The bowl with repoussé decoration from Kerameikos Grave 42 with row of women leading animals is probably Phoenician, mixing North Syrian elements with Egyptian motifs, similarly as some toreutic works from Crete—bowls, shields; some of them, with elements of Greek Geometric style, were probably made in Crete.

MIDDLE GEOMETRIC ATHENS—THE STRICT STYLE

Middle Geometric is a name given by Coldstream as it enables better comparison with Geometric styles in other parts of Greece (Coldstream 2003, 73–105), but the Strict Style, given by his predecessors, is a better name. It was the fulfilment of the stream starting in Early Geometric towards optimal proportional system and structure of this abstract art on vases. The black glazed surface is in proportion to decorated parts in relation 1 : 1, the decoration on belly and neck mirror each other, the overall system for outbalancing individual elements in proportions (human body was still the model) and rhythm reached its most sophisticated stage. The balance of elements creates the harmony: harmony in Greek opinion was in outbalancing of two opposite forces. And the strictly Geometric abstract art reached in Strict Style its apogee. But soon after the task was accomplished, the purely abstract style did not satisfy completely the demands and animal and human figures entered the vocabulary of the artists more often (HG 147–150; **pl. A 4**); cf. Winter 2008.

The first scenes from the beginnings of 8th century remind one much of the simple scenes in LH III C art, but also of Nordic rock carvings (**fig. 39.1–5**). There are a few bridges between LH III C and Middle Geometric drawings, notably in Crete; J. L. Benson (1970) compiled a good general survey (cf. also GAE 83–87). The same simple approach to human and animal figures can be seen first in connection with the clay and bronze figurines of the age, at best in Olympia, where Early to Strict Geometric figurines are best represented: horses, birds, and bulls prevail among the animals, standing figurines of gods-warriors, and goddesses are common, besides the group of charioteers (**figs. 85–86 and 79**). Of the new shapes the flat pyxis with horses on lid and opening for suspension or closing is important for further development (cf. Bonev 1988 and Bouzek 1959).

Pins and fibulae reach sophisticated shapes, they became more ornate, bow and pin-holder of the fibulae bear incised ornaments, mainly swastika and circles; even rings display incision and repoussé. The simple repoussé decoration, which first followed European models, now becomes finer (GAE 91–106). The contacts with the north were, however, not forgotten, as show several early imports and relations between Balkan and Greek fibulae and pins of this period. The first Italic imports to Greece also date from the end of the 9th century, though they become common only later (GAE 104–114).

In the year 776 BC, the date of the first all-Greek Olympic games, the Greeks officially began their own history. Around that time they were sailing over most of the Mediterranean Sea; first for trade and piracy connected to it and later on they founded their own colonies. It can be taken even here as a turning point for artistic and other more common aspects of Greek civilisation. It is useful to add here a complementary view from the north.



Fig. 47: Basic shapes of Submycenaean pottery, after HG.

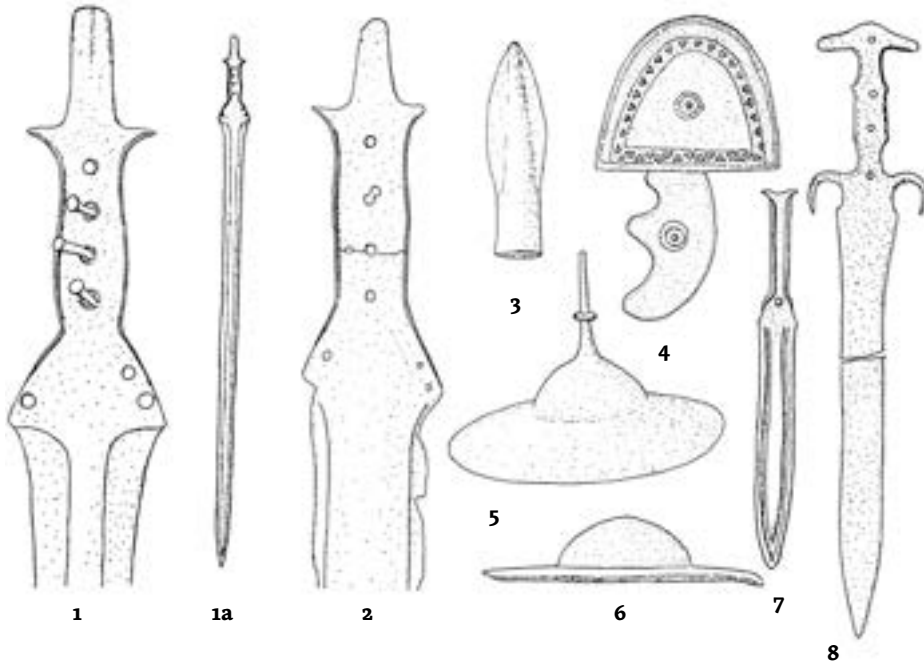


Fig. 48: LH III C, Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric weapons and armour. Swords 1 Graditsa, Thessaly, 2 Mouliana, Crete, Grave B, 3 spearhead from Kerameikos, Grave PG A, 4 Tiryns, helmet from Grave 28, 5–6 shield buckles, Kerameikos graves PG 24 and 48, 7 Peschiera dagger from Psychro Cave, 8 short sword from Submycenaean Grave at Ancient Elis, after HG.

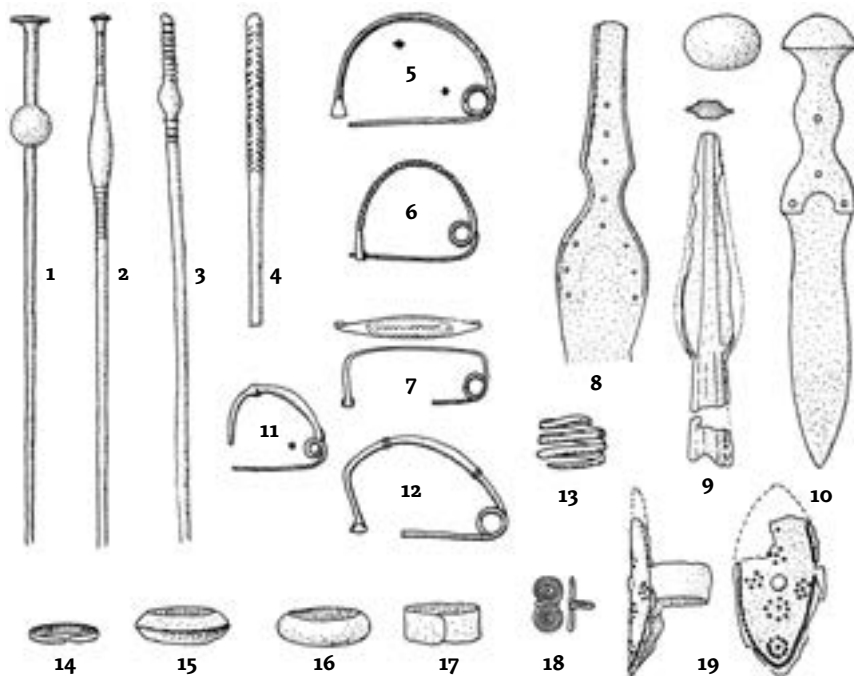


Fig. 49: Submycenaean pins, fibulae, rings and weapons. Pins: 1 and 3 Kerameikos, graves 20 and 41, 3 Knossos, Gypsades, grave VII, 4 Argos, Deiras, grave 17. Fibulae: Kerameikos graves 1 (5), 102 (6–7, 11), 33 (12). Rings: 13 and 15 grave SM 52, 14 grave SM 24, 16–17, 24 grave SM 70, 18 grave SM 102. Sword 8 from SM grave 11, spearhead and dagger 9–10 from grave PG B. After HG.

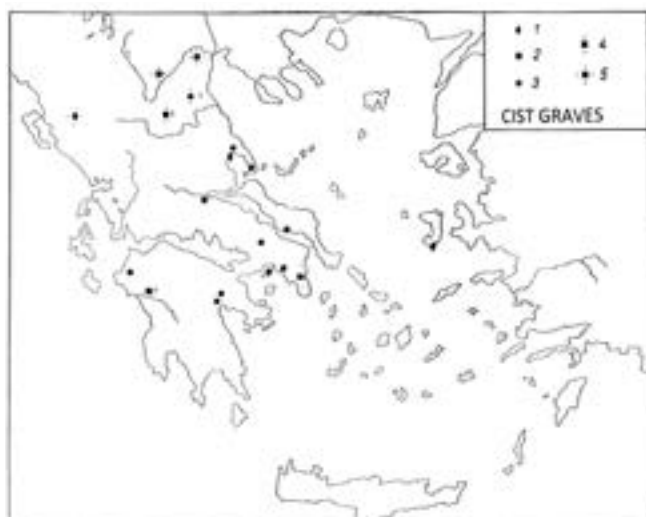


Fig. 50: Generalized distribution map of cist graves in Greece. 1 LH III B, 2 LH III C, 3 Submycenaean, 4 with hand-made pottery, 5 with hand-made pottery only. After HG.

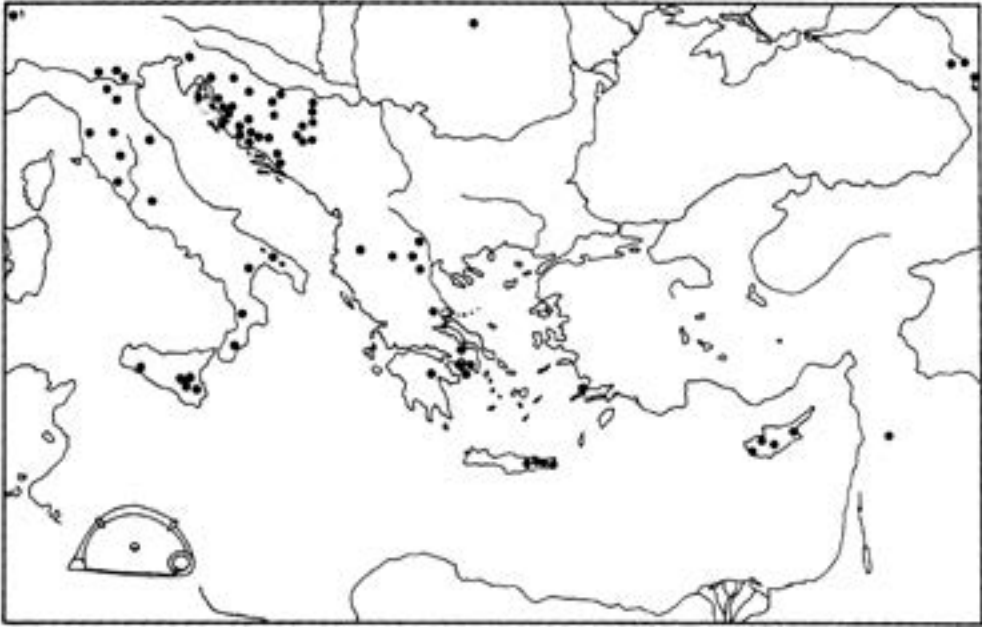


Fig. 51: Generalised distribution map of bow fibulae with knots, after HG.

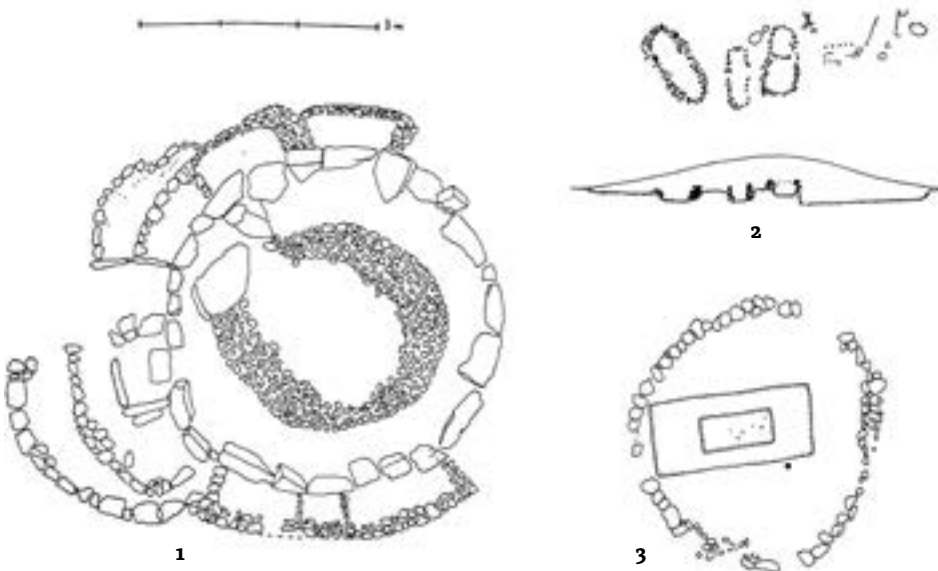


Fig. 52: Tumuli and periboloi. 1 Naxos, 2-3 Vergina, tumulus II and part of tumulus III. After HG.

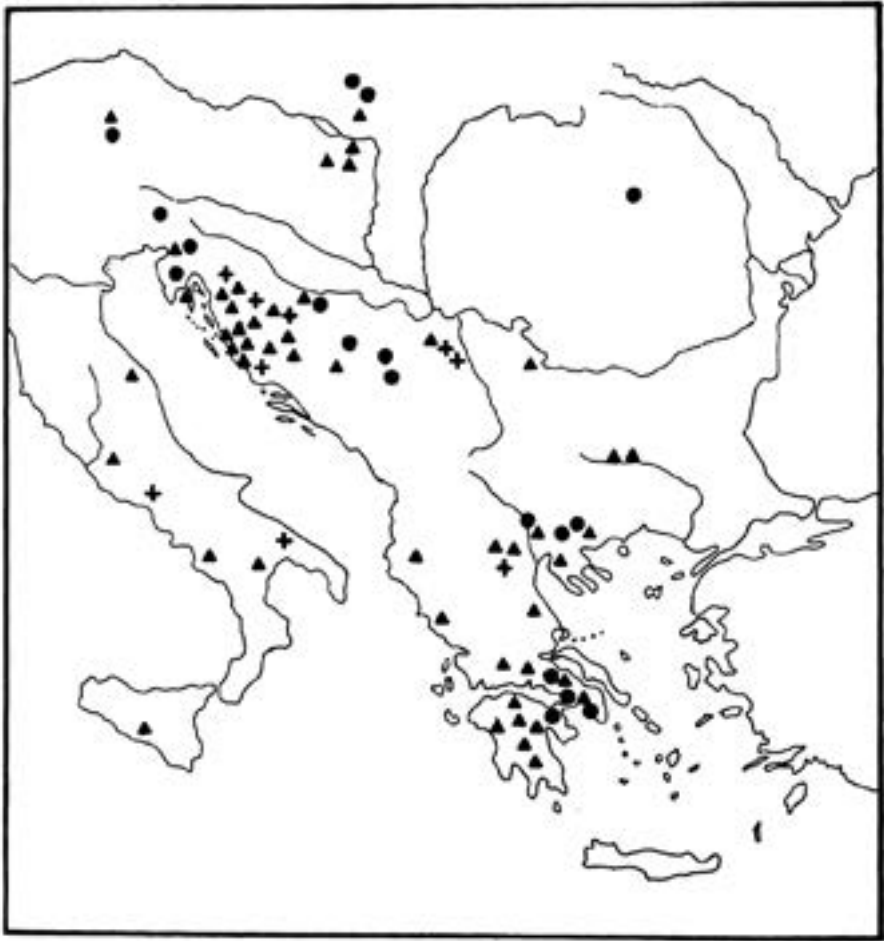


Fig. 53: Generalised distribution map of spectacle fibulae, after HG.

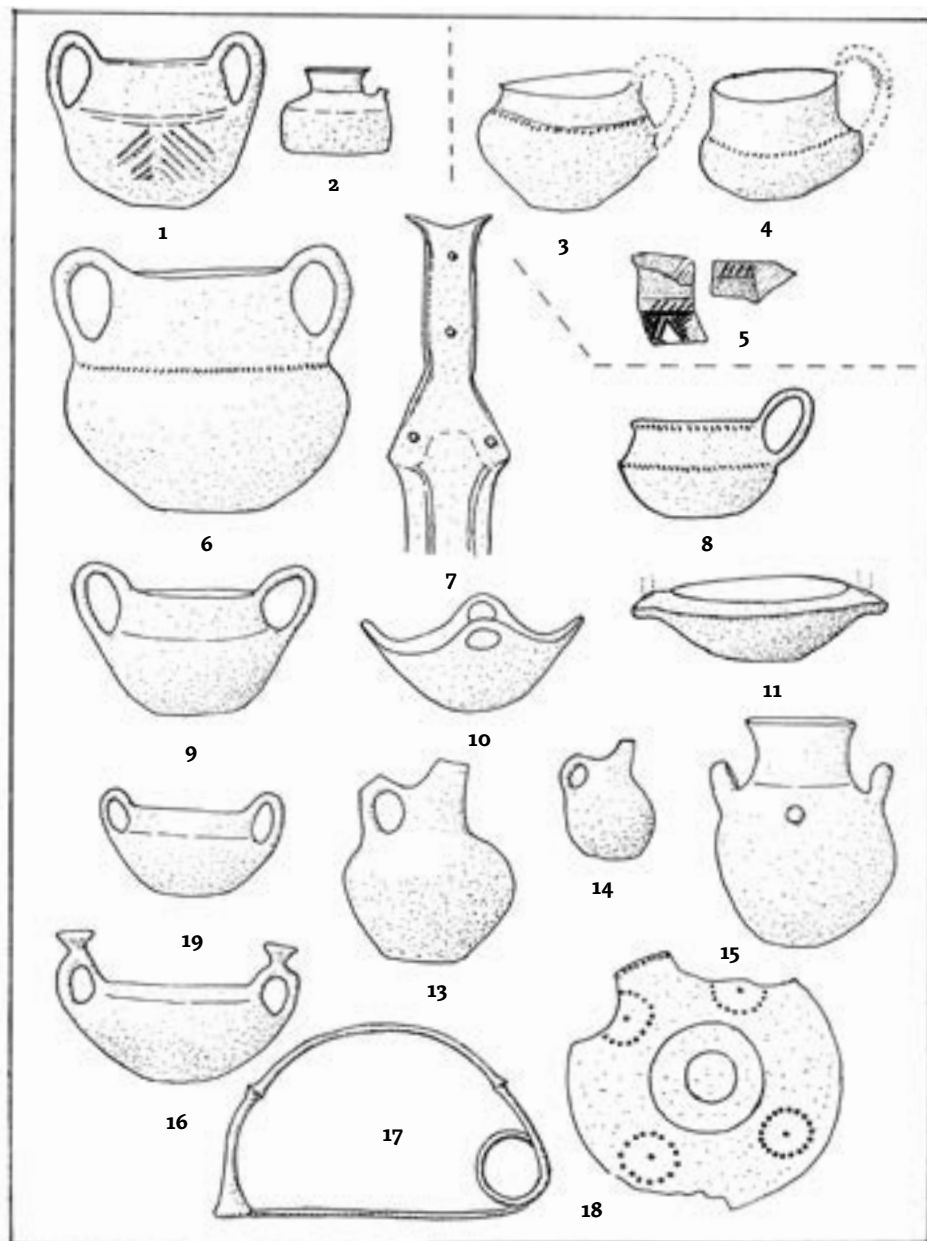


Fig. 54: Vergina cemetery, pottery, sword and fibula. 1-2, 6-18 Vergina, 1-2 fluted kantharos and LH III C angular alabastron, 6-7 grave C delta, 8 and 11 grave 1 alpha, 9 and 14 grave M, 23-24, 12-13 gamma, 73-74, 15-16 III lambda, 3-4 Devetaki cave, 5 Lefkandi. After HG.

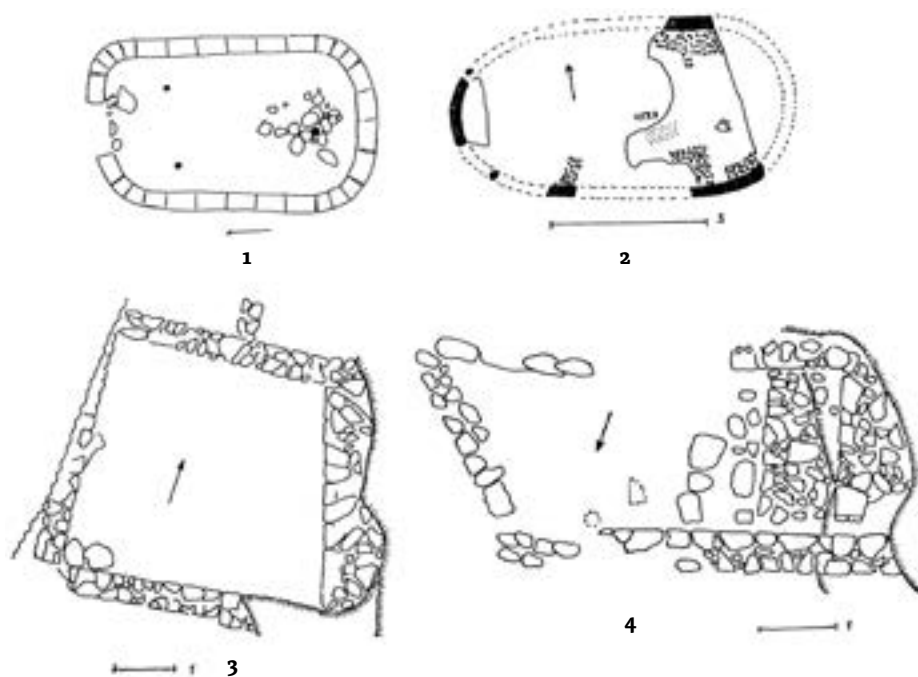


Fig. 55: 1–2 PG oval buildings in Old Smyrna and Athens, 3–4 LG houses in Siphnos, after HG.



Fig. 56: The Knossos PG goddess: spring. Courtesy N. Coldstream.

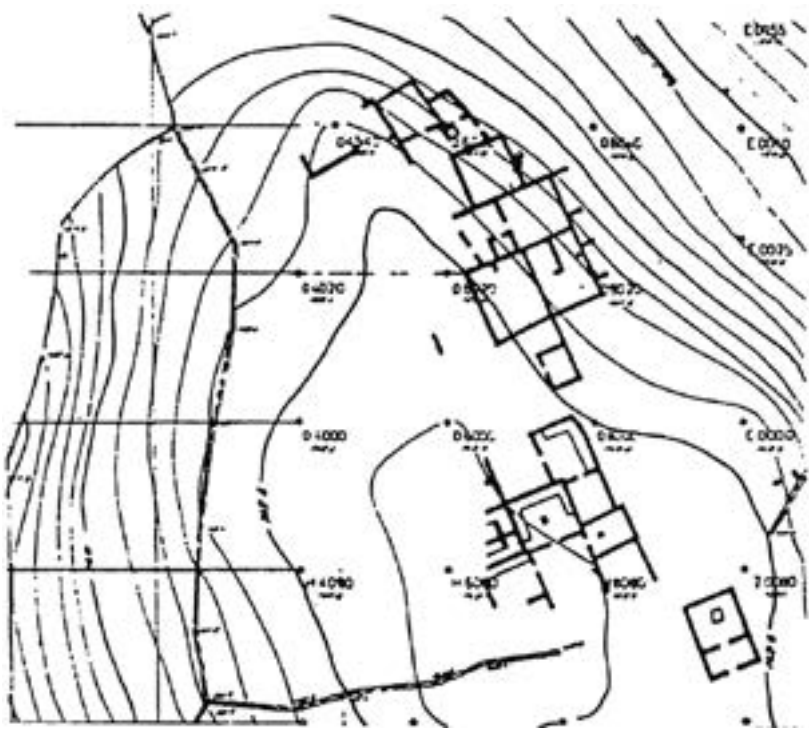


Fig. 57: Andros, Zagora. After Cambitoglou.

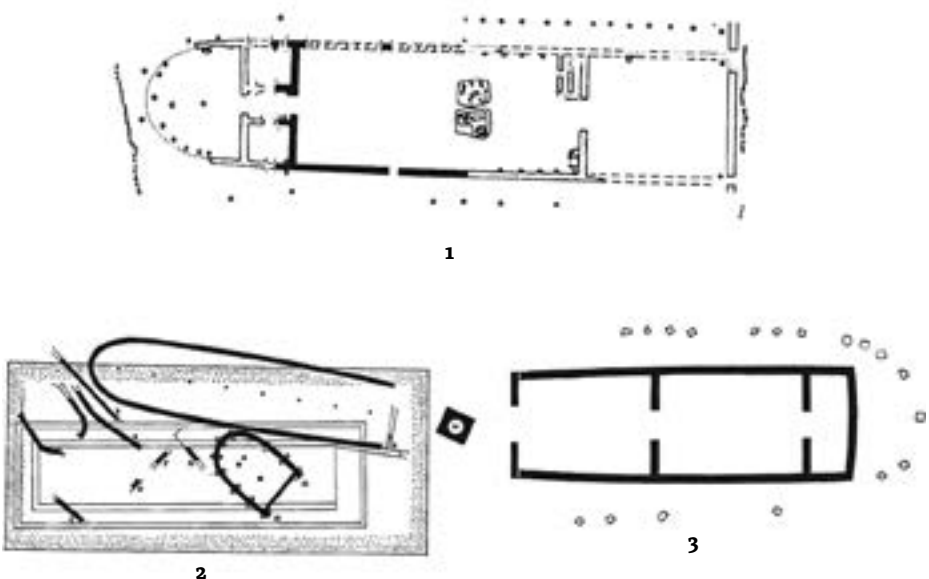


Fig. 58: 1 Lefkandi, heroon, 2 Eretria, 3 Thermon, PG—Geometric temples. After Mazarakis-Ainian.



Fig. 59: Main shapes of Protogeometric pottery. 1, 5 and 7 Incised Ware. After HG.

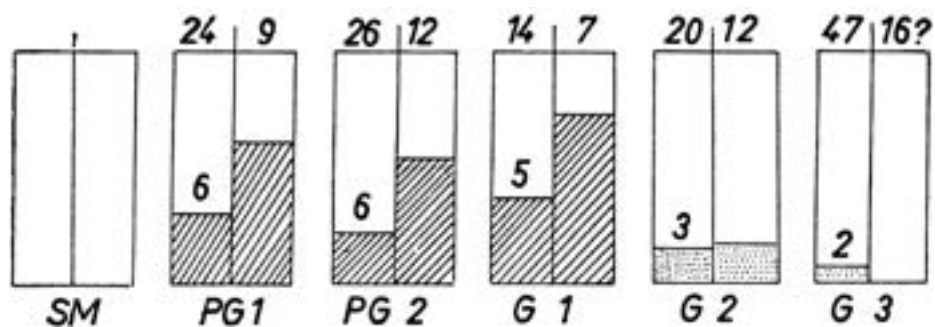


Fig. 60 Proportion of graves with weapons in Kerameikos. Left all graves, right only male graves. After Early Geometric only knives were put into graves. After HG.

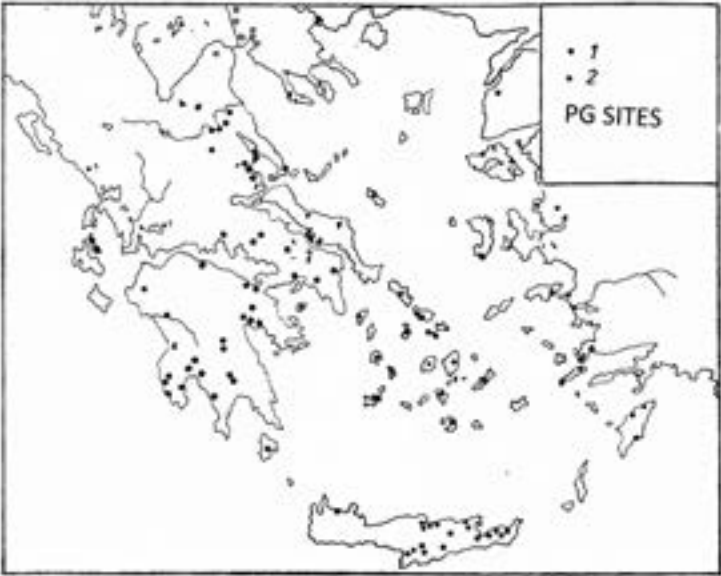


Fig. 61: Protogeometric sites in Greece (1) and of the northern variety (2). After HG.

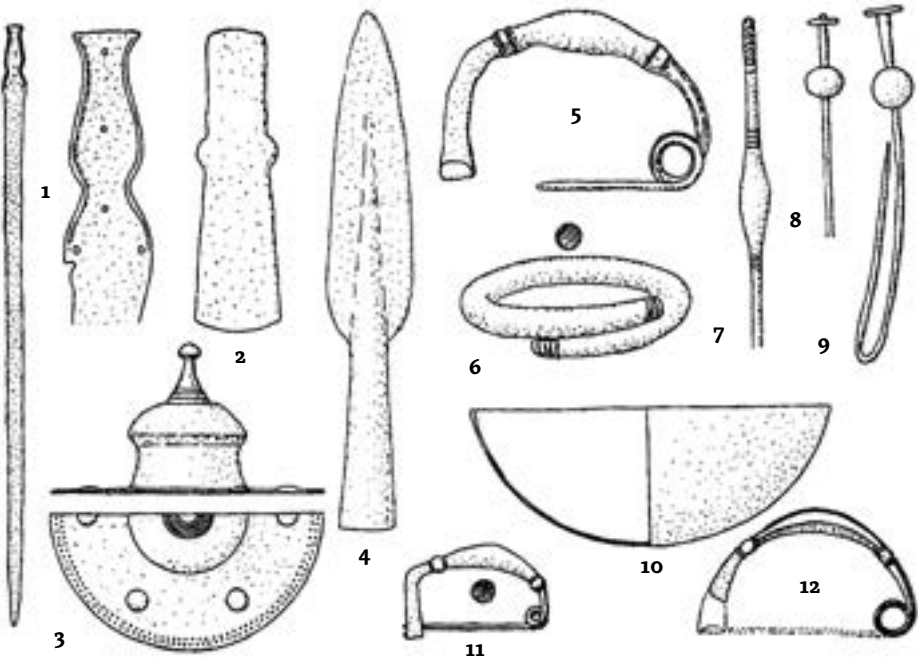


Fig. 62: Protogeometric weapons, fibulae, pins, bracelet and bronze bowl.
1-4, 8-12 Athens, 5-7 North Peloponnese. 1-2, 4 iron, 8-9 iron with bronze globes, other bronze. After HG.



Fig. 63: Protogeometric amphorae with male (left) and female (right) cremations. After GAE.

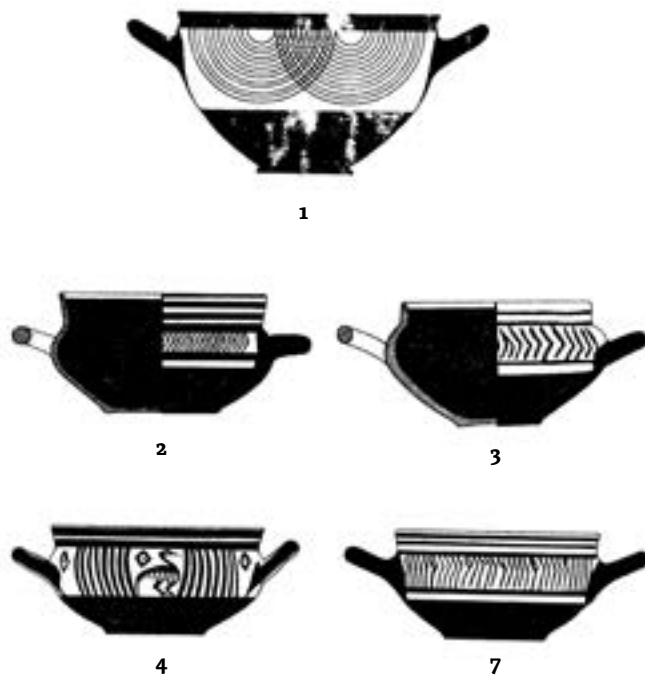


Fig. 64: 1 – Above skyphoi with pendent semicircles (precolonial), middle row chevron skyphoi (first colonies), below bird bowls and related (ab ca. 700 BC). After GAE.

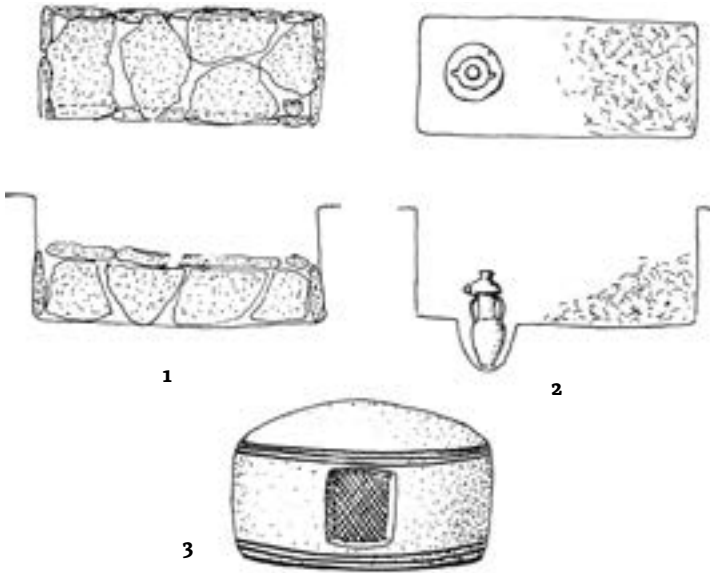


Fig. 65: 1-2 PG cist grave, 3 model of hut, 3 Subminoan hut urn from Karphi. After HG.

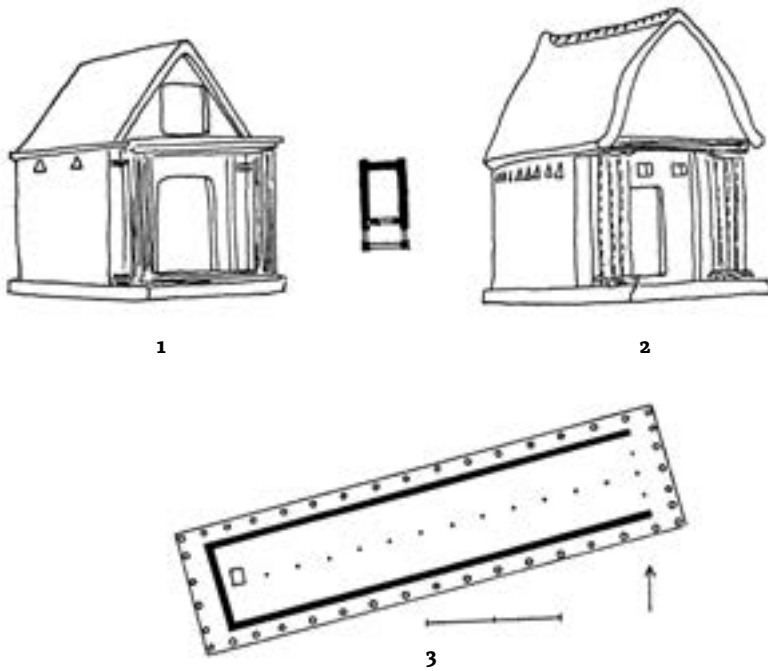


Fig. 66: Late Geometric temple models from Argive Heraion and Perachora (1-2), 3 Samos, Heraion. After HG.



Fig. 67: Main shapes of Early Geometric pottery. After HG.



Fig. 68: Bell-shaped “dolls” and similar figurines. 1 Enkomi, 2 cave Sto Trochili, Crete, 3 Boeotia, 4 Ialysos, Rhodes, 5 Samos, Heraion, 6 Serraglio, Kos, 7 from Boeotia, Berlin, 8 Cyprus, Museum Nicosia. After HG.

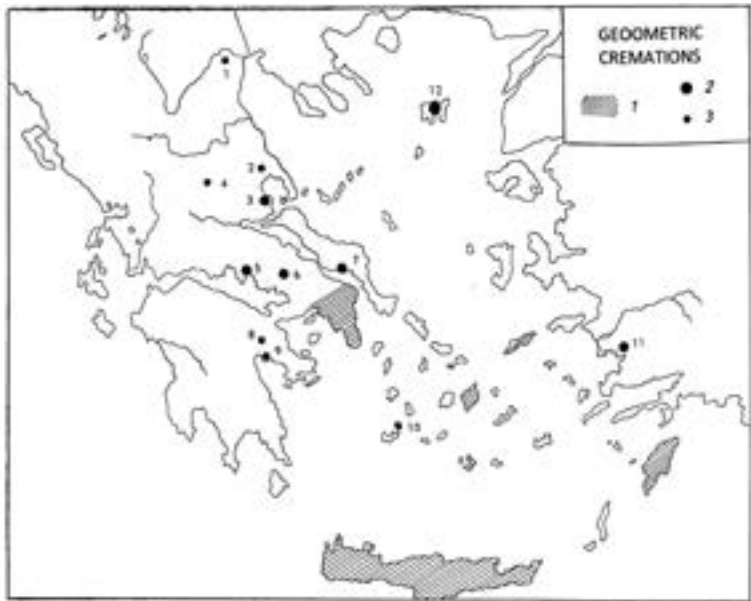


Fig. 69: Generalized map of cremations in Geometric Greece. 1 areas with cremations prevailing, 2 cemeteries, 3 single graves. After HG.

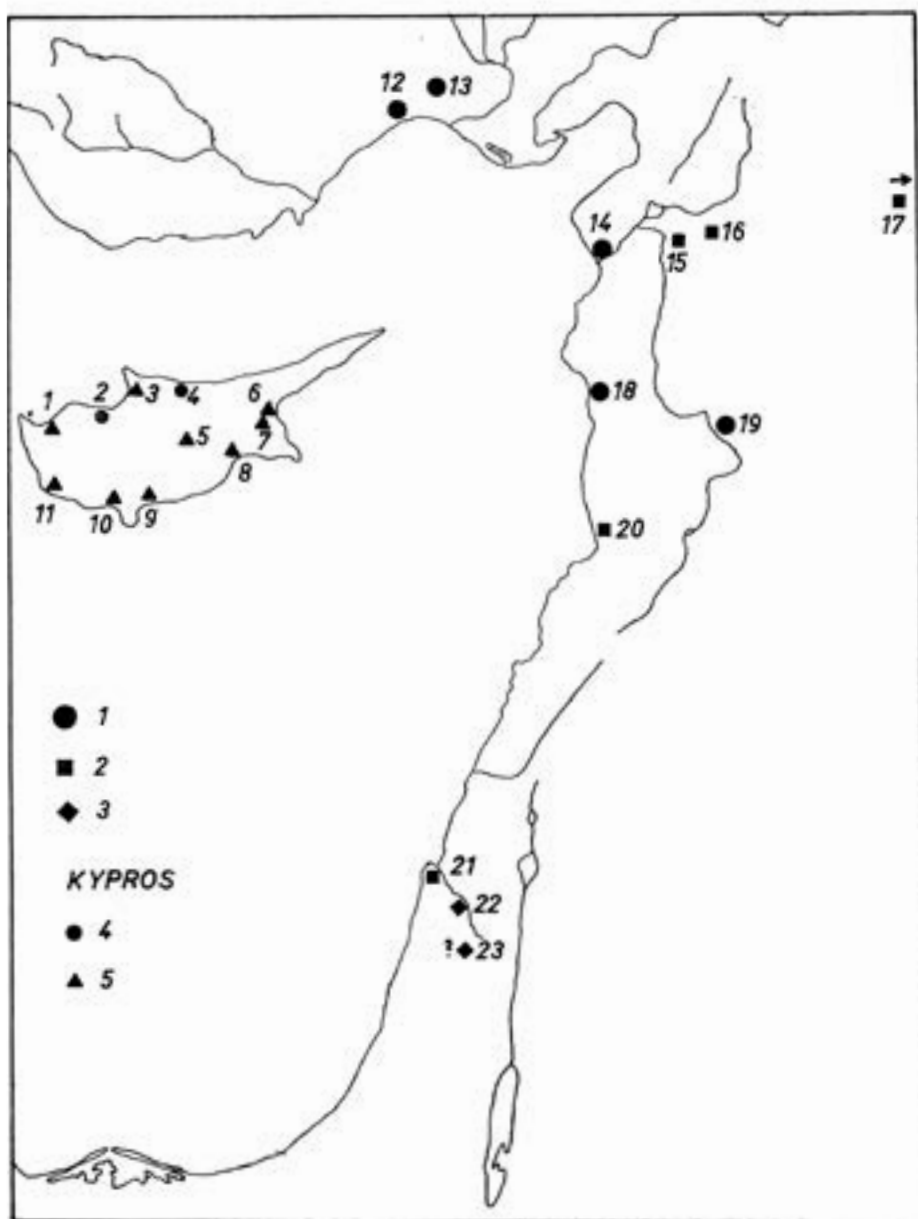


Fig. 70: PG and Geometric pottery in Eastern Mediterranean. 1 large number of MG and LG pottery, 2 skyphoi with concentric semicircles, 3 Attic MG pottery, Cyprus, 4 MG pottery, 5 LG pottery. 1 Marion, 2 Soli, 3 Ayia Irini, 4 Kyrenia-Karaphtani, 5 Idalion, 6 Salamis, 7 Stylli, 8 Larnaca, 9 Amathus, 10 Kurion, 11 Paphos, 12 Mersin, 13 Tarsus, 14 Al Mina (Suedia), 15 Tell Tayianat, 16 Tell Judaiah, 17 Tell Halaf, 18 Tell Sukas, 19 Hama, 20 Tababt-al-Hammam, 21 Tell Abu Hawam, 22 Megiddo, 23 Samaria. After Coldstream and GAE.



Fig. 71: Achilles' shield, reconstruction after Myres, right Phoenician silver bowl from Francavilla Maritima. After GAE.

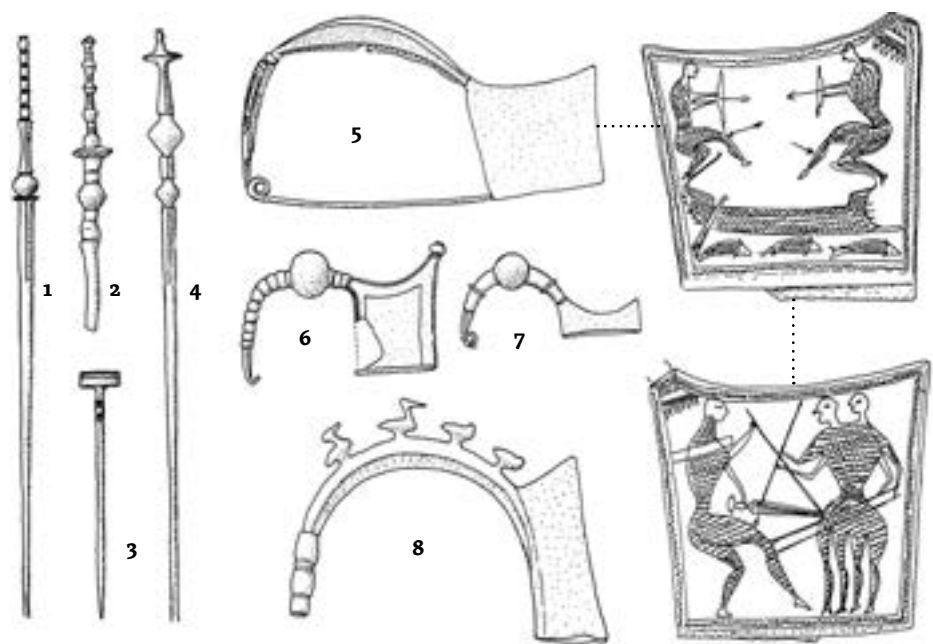


Fig. 72: Pins and fibulae of the 8th century BC. 1 Perachora, 2 Sparta, 3 Psychro Cave, 4 Museum Boston, 5 Idaean Cave, 6-7 Pherai, 8 Peloponnese. After HG.

3.5 THRACIAN THALASSOCRACY: FACT OR FICTION?

Eusebius and also Marmor Parium speak about Thracian thalassocracy, ruling over the sea, lasting for 79 years just between the Bronze and Iron Ages. It was usually believed by most scholars that there must have been something behind the tradition of other earlier thalassocracies, starting with the Cycladic, Cretan and Mycenaean, but the Thracian thalassocracy remained for many a kind of a hapax. Much, however, was enlightened in the field of study of Thracian seafaring documents by our old friend Micha Lazarov, and it seems to be useful to sum up the evidence now available and to try to find the most probable answer.¹⁹ We may start with the literary documents on Thracian thalassocracy.

THE LITERARY TRADITION

The list of thalassocracies, known mainly from the chronographs, among which the best known are quotations from Hecataeus and Marmor Parium, kept mainly in Oxford, partly lost during the English civil war, and partly later found in Paros in the 19th century, were studied and edited by many, among them on the first place by Felix Jacoby, in a special monograph on Marmor Parium and in his main oeuvre, *Fragments of Greek Historians*. The mythical genealogies and their possible explanations were discussed by many, including Fritz Schachermeyr and Michel Sakellariou during the last twenty years. The list of thalassocracies is a parallel to the list of genealogies and of mythical foundation legends, part of the attempts to establish some kind of order into the mythical past, to connect the legends with the chronicles. Though most of the compilations known to us came through Byzantine authors, and the original ones date from the Hellenistic age, there must have been some so-called oral memory behind them. Modern theoretical studies based on African sources distinguish the chronological lists which were kept officially by some persons (chronographs) at the royal or princely courts, and the bards, whose works were not canonical and could be adapted and changed, at least to some extent. Very ancient Indian works, like Bhagavad Gita, were memorized and preserved practically intact for millennia, Homeric poems were apparently memorized as well before being written officially in the Peisistratus' redaction. As most of the real facts in Homer find best parallels in the Protogeometric times, the traditional dating of Homer—or Proto-Homer, as for ex. Karl Schefold suggested, in the 9th century seems to be much more probable now than before twenty years.

19 The first version of this paper was presented at the Varna conference dedicated to my late friend Misha Lazarov: Bouzek 2006, 109–120; cf. also Doumas 1998.

Thracians were to some extent mythical people for the Greeks, the legends about them resemble the legends on the Pelasgians, and to some extent also the Phoenicians, a country from which princess Europa came. Why the legend on thalassocracies put the Thracians as the only non-Aegean people into the list, and just between the Bronze Age and the new Iron Age? Legendary Pelasgians were better in seafaring (the core of them were probably the Sea Peoples, as suggested by Schachermeyr and others), the Phoenicians were certainly better in this field before the Greeks learned from them to do the same.

Archaeological discoveries in Thrace during the last thirty years enlightened much of the Dark Age, but much still remains obscure. The Pelasgians of legends were nearly everywhere and were masters of the sea and maritime battles. The Phoenicians of the legends brought Princess Europa, civilisation, ruse: the topoi of description of mythical Thracians were Dionysiac and Orphic religion, and the richness (like Rhesus). They were, however, no “modern” people in their cleverness, as Rhesus was not careful enough and was killed by Odysseus and Diomedes, the two heroes representing with Homer the new Iron Age mind, from which the Greek philosophical mind evolved. In this respect, Thracians were predecessors of the new mind, as are the Trojans. Old Thracians of Greek legends were apparently not identical in the Greek mind with later Thracians; many families leading Greek sanctuaries claimed Thracian origin, and, as concerns the legends on foundations of mystery sanctuaries, Thracians were not less important than the Phoenician Kadmos. In Greek legendary reconstruction of the past the Thracians were just the predecessors of the new Iron Age world, who just helped its birth. The literary tradition is too much a fiction to enlighten the legend on Thracian thalassocracy, so this contribution should try to prove it from the archaeological evidence known to us now.

THRACIAN CONTACTS WITH THE MYCENAEAN AND PROTOGEOMETRIC WORLD

Contacts between the territory of modern Bulgaria and the Mycenaean world prior to the 13th century BC are mainly represented by weapons. The sword from Galatin is probably a Mycenaean product, others, including the fragmentary weapon from Drama, are local imitations, while the northernmost item found in Medgidia in Romanian Dobrogea appears to be of Mycenaean origin, too (Bouzek 1994a, 217–234; Bonev 1988). With some of the swords Mycenaean spearheads with long blade were found; both represent elements of Mycenaean armour, which is unknown in other parts of Europe. Some fragments of Mycenaean pottery were found in South-west Bulgaria, at Koprivlen (cf. p. 44–45).

The double axes from Bulgaria include mainly North Greek, marginal types (**fig. 6**), but also genuine Mycenaean shapes of Late Bronze Age date (**fig. 6.11**); some of them have been found as far as in the Ukraine (Buchholz 1983, 43–134; Bouzek 1985, 44–47; Bonev 2003). Decorative bronze sceptres from that time (**fig. 6.12**), testify to excellent bronze working technique and are evidence of rulers whose paraphernalia they represented.

Late Bronze Age Thrace was rich country with mighty rulers. The treasure of golden vessels from Valčitrán (distr. Pleven) is one of the best examples of the wealth of Late Bronze Age Thrace (**pl. B 2**). The largest vessel, a two-handled kantharos, has parallels in Križovlin near Odessa and from Bădeni in Romanian Moldova (cf. note 6 and Mikov 1958; Taylor 1984, 187–202). The Valčitrán hoard appears to be earlier than the gold vessel from Kazičane near Sofia; lids of silver similar to those of the Valčitrán treasure have recently been found in north-western Bulgaria. The most interesting part of the Valčitrán set is a vessel in shape of a big triple ladle or dipper connected by tubes, so that it is possible to mix together the liquids poured in all three ladles. This vessel is accompanied by three drinking cups and this triple set shows that it served for ritual sacrifices to a trinity, perhaps identical to that known in later Thracian religion (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 133).

According to Homer Thracians from the Marmara Sea to the Axios river took part in the Trojan War on the side of the Trojans. Homer's description of the Thracian king Rhesus, whose kingdom was on the lower Struma, reflects the richness of the Thracian rulers of his time. Odysseus and Diomedes killed Rhesus before he could intervene more seriously in the war, but his arrival at Troy was impressive. Homer describes the way all Greek heroes stared at him in amazement:

*... here apart be the Thracians, newcomers, the outermost of all
and among them their king Rhexus, son of Eioneus.
His be verily the fastest horses that ever I saw, and the greatest,
whiter than snow, and in speed like the winds
and his chariot is cunningly wrought with gold and silver,
and armour of gold brought he with him, huge of size,
a wonder to behold. Such armour is hubris,
not that mortal men should wear, but immortal gods.*

(II. X, 436–441; Loeb translation)

Characteristic is what awakened the admiration of the Greeks: much better horses than theirs (cf. also II. X, 474–5 and X 513–14), and a wealth of gold that exceeded what the Greek princes possessed. A saying was created: “As rich as Rhesus” (cf. here ch. 9).

Greek myths attributed the origins of the Dionysus cult to the Thracians. Through drinking wine and rituals connected to it individuals were freed

from their blood relations and able to form new relationships, expressed mainly in the male *Gefolgschaft* and in female *menadism*. It was not only Dionysus with his merry company who came to the Greeks from Thrace, orphism also came from this region. According to legend its founder was the Thracian king Orpheus and orphism created one of the first bridges between the religious and philosophical interpretation of the world. In that sense Thrace was a midwife of Greek culture.

THE MARITIME TRADE AND SEAFARING DOCUMENTS

The Bulgarian Black Sea coast was involved in maritime trade in the Late Bronze Age, according to finds of ingots of oxhide shape. One copper ingot was found in Čenovo near Burgas (**fig. 73**); it weights 26 kg and is similar to those found e.g. in the wrecks in Yassi Ada and Kaş, at the south-western Turkish coast. Another item of this class, coming from near Cape Kaliakra and weighing 1.5 kg, was composed of 32% of gold, 18% of silver, 43% of copper and some nickel; it is a unique piece, but its shape is of Mediterranean inspiration; Mycenaean weights were used in most parts of Bronze Age Europe (Pare 1999, 421–514; Michailidou, ed. 2001a). Three new ingots have been found recently near Varna; they came from Kirilovo, Bjalata Prst and from Černozem, Lambanskoto kladenče (**fig. 75**), while there is also a parallel fragmentary find from the European coast of the Marmara Sea at İğdebağları in Turkey (cf. esp. Lichardus – Echt – İljev – Christov 2002, 135–184, for the ingots pp. 160–167). The items from Černozem have been analysed, and their composition fits well into the usual class of Cypriot ingots (**fig. 10**).

Along the Bulgarian coast many stone anchors of pyramidal shape have been found, with one or three drilled holes at its top (**fig. 74, pl. A 8**). These anchors are characteristic for the Bronze Age seafaring, when adverse winds forced boats to anchor immediately wherever they were. Many of these anchors were found underwater in places, which offered no safe anchorage: in dangerous shallow waters and under cliffs. There seem to be two reasons for this situation. One was the necessity to anchor in bad weather wherever it was possible, and to escape by cutting off the anchors when in trouble, but these anchors are also traces of shipwrecks. In the latter case the whole set of anchors of the ship was preserved, as well as other objects from the ship's cargo (cf. esp. Angelova – Lazarov eds. 1994; Porožanov 1989, 6–15). It is a pity that—unlike in the Mediterranean—anchors in Bulgarian coastal waters were discovered without clear context. Their dating is thus not quite safe, but they must have preceded the sophisticated Phoenician and Greek Early Iron Age seafaring.

THRACIANS AND SEA PEOPLES, MIGRATIONS TO AND FROM THRACE

According to Greek tradition the Trojan War came at the end of the 13th century BC. Those who returned from it were among the last heroes of the mythical period, which ended shortly afterwards with the beginning of the new Age of Iron. In Thrace the Bronze Age lasted longer; but even there it did not survive too long after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces. Around 1200 BC the powerful Hittite empire ceased to exist in Asia Minor, the so called “Sea Peoples” conquered Cyprus, destroyed Syrian towns—among the best known of those destroyed was Ugarit and—around 1190 BC their victorious campaign was only stopped on the Egyptian frontier by the armies of Ramses III. More sophisticated state structures mostly disappeared, only the more distant of them survived, especially Assyria and Egypt, and the Dark Age began. Although—thanks to intensive research during the last decades—the next centuries are now better known and the Dark Age becomes lighter to our knowledge, the state of affairs became more primitive than in the preceding Late Bronze Age and in the following civilisation of Archaic Greece.²⁰

Generally, Thrace was touched by Late Bronze Age migrations less than other countries. Its cultural continuity was more disrupted only in some parts of its territory, although the influence from the western Balkans was decisive for further development of jewellery, dress fasteners and armour, especially in the western part of Thrace, and—besides influences from the Pontic and Caucasus areas (here ch. 8.2–3)—it became the main background of the Thracian bronze work in the Early Iron Age. It might be under pressure of arrival of other groups from the north to Thrace that other migrations from the Balkans to Asia Minor occurred. Tradition recorded by later Greek authors (mainly by Herodotus, 7, 73 and 8, 138, and Strabo 7, 4, 2 and 14, 5, 29) testifies that the Phrygians moved to Asia Minor from the area of the Vardar (Axios) valley; their remnants stayed in western Macedonia until historic times and were called the Brygi. The Phrygians created a powerful kingdom in Asia Minor with its centre in Gordion; their kingdom was destroyed by the Cimmerians at the beginning of the 7th century BC.²¹ The earliest pottery known from the excavations at Gordion shows many traits comparable to the Early Iron Age pottery style of the southern Balkans (Bouzek 1997, 151–155; Petrova 1996). Also the Armenians were, according to Herodotus, the descendants of the Phrygians. The Mysians living in north-western Asia Minor came there according to ancient authors from the present north-western Bulgaria (Herod. 7. 75. 2). Those of the Mysians, who stayed in their homeland on the Danube, were called Moesians and later gave their name to the Roman prov-

20 Cf. Bouzek 1985, 241–244 (ch. 4); 1997, 24–33; 2005a, 31–37; Oren, ed. 2000; Doumas 1998.

21 Or, according to C14, one hundred years earlier.

ince of Moesia (in late sources also sometimes called Mysia). Just a brief look at the map shows us that both historically proved movements can be linked with the two archaeologically documented movements of other groups from the eastern part of Central Europe; the latter may perhaps have been responsible for the pressure which caused the Mysians, Bithynians and Phrygians move to Anatolia. Further movement from Thrace into Asia Minor can be traced in the similarity of the Trojan pottery after the fall of Troy VI with the pottery style known in eastern Bulgaria and Rumania (Babadag, Sava-Conevo, Malkoto Kale): Domaradzki – Karaiotov – Gotzev 1991, 119–132; Tončeva 1983; Laszlo 1994. It concerns first of all the so-called Trojan Knobbed Ware (**fig. 26**). Some parallels with Trojan pottery of the 12th–10th centuries BC can also be found in more western parts of Thrace (Bouzek 1985, 79–82; 1994, 218–20), while Aeolian (Trojan) Grey Ware is also known from Bulgaria (Lichardus et al. 2001, 140–159). The legend on Thracian thalassocracy may suggest that also some Thracians participated in the movements of the Sea Peoples.

The close parallels between Greek and Caucasian bow fibulae and Caucasian bronze objects from Samos show that contacts across the Black Sea existed in the 9th–8th centuries BC (cf. **pl. B 4.4–5** and **B 1.6**), though no safe Greek pottery imports of this early date are known from the Black Sea area as yet (Bouzek 1990a, 13–18; cf. ch. 8.3).

GREEK COLONISATION IN THE BLACK SEA

According to historical tradition Greek colonization of the Thracian Black Sea coast started after the attacks of Cimmerians and Scythians ended, i.e. around 660 BC, but few Greek cities in the area have yielded pottery earlier than 600 BC (Boardman 1980, 239–250; Bouzek 1990a, 13–41, 172–178; Tsekhladze 1998, 9–68). The first Milesian colony on the Black Sea Thracian shore was Histria (also Istria, Istros or Istropolis). According to Pindaros Istros was in the area where Apollo lived in winter, so even the Apolline myth shows Thracian links (cf. ch. 9.2–3). The earliest pottery from Histria dates from mid 7th century BC. Some exceptions may, however, date from the end of the 8th century BC; here belongs one vase from Cyprus, some fragments of Aeolian amphorae and one Geometric sherd, but the provenance of the latter has been questioned (cf. now again Alexandrescu 2000), and new excavations revealed nothing that early. The earliest pottery from Istria widely known is of Milesian Middle Wild Goat style as clay analyses have confirmed. Similarly early finds yielded Orgame near to Histria; the earliest also date from mid 7th century BC. Middle White Goat I fragments, fragments of bird bowls, a Valet-Villard A2 Samian cup and an early Chiot transport amphora came from one of the earliest graves of the cemetery, perhaps of the *ktistes* of the town (Manucu-Adamsteanu 2001). Apollonia Pontica yielded first pot-

tery from the last decade of the 7th century. These dates leave enough time for Thracian seafaring dominance in the Black Sea prior to founding Greek colonies.

It can be concluded that the legend on Thracian thalassocracy fits well into the period preceding the Greek colonisation of the Black Sea, when Greek seafaring was not yet very successful and of limited scale only. The Trojan Grey Ware is known from many sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, and some Thracians may well have participated even in the campaigns of the Sea Peoples, together with the Pelasgoi, who left other myths in Greek tradition. It seems that there are enough archaeological sources suggesting that the traditional story of Thracian thalassocracy was not a pure invention. There may well have been a real core behind the legend, which also resembles parallel stories describing Illyrian thalassocracy in the Adriatic Sea, though the latter lasted longer and was apparently on a more sophisticated level (cf. ch. 8.1 and Bouzek 2005a, 38–41).

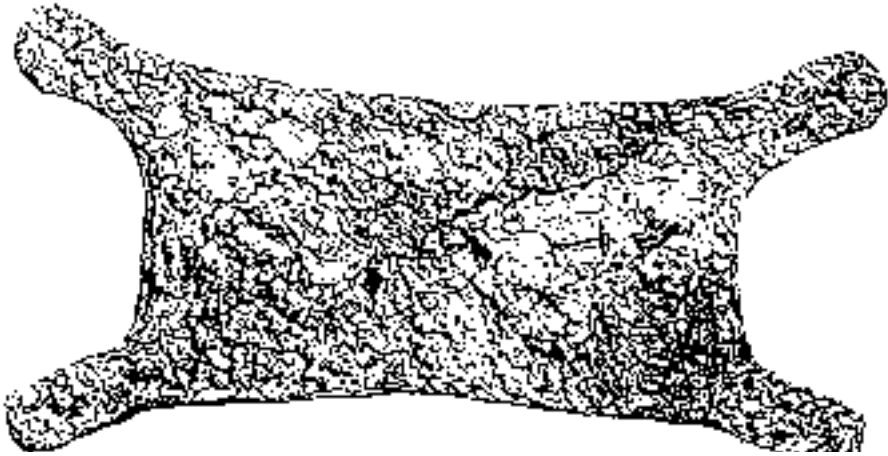


Fig. 73: Bronze oxhide ingot from near Burgas, Bulgaria, after Bouzek 1985.

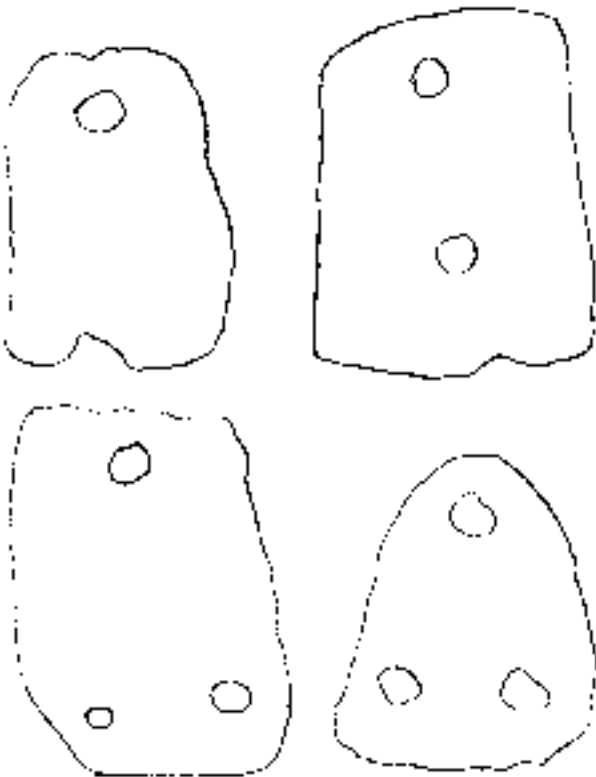


Fig. 74: Stone anchors from near Sozopol, Bulgaria.

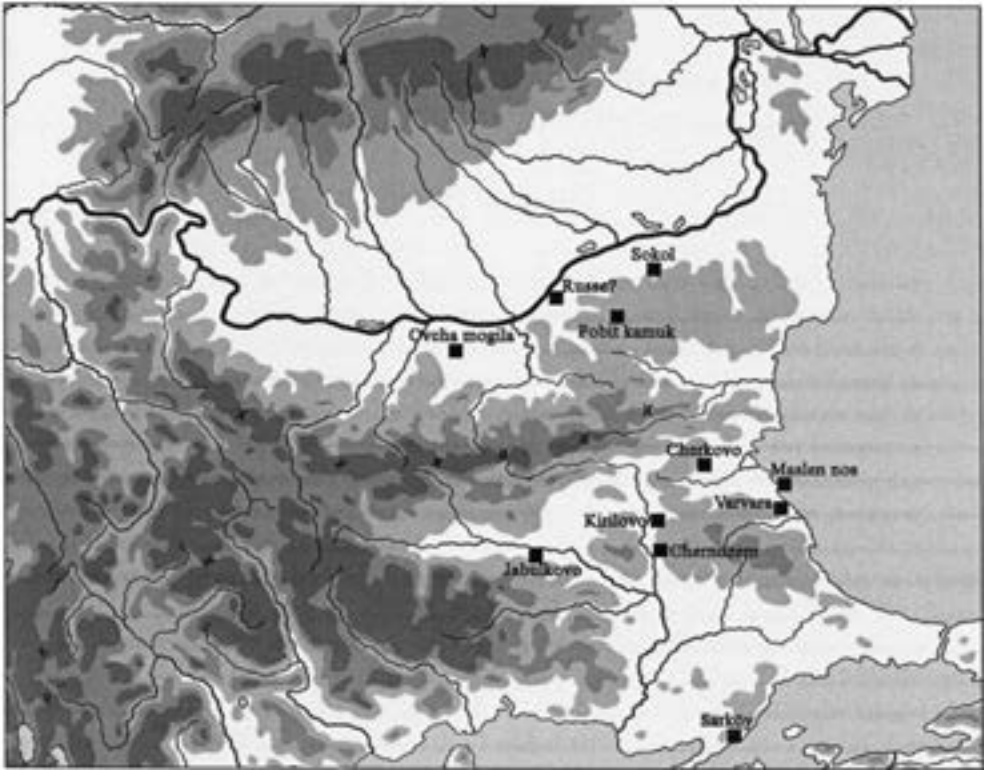


Fig. 75: Distribution of the oxhide bronze ingots in the eastern Balkans. After Doncheva 2010.



1



2

1 Mycenae, Lion's Gate, 2 Mycenae, behind Mt. of Saint Elias.



1



2

1 Mycenae, Treasury of Atreus, 2 Mycenae, houses along the city wall.



1



2

1 Tiryns, upper part of Cyclopean wall, 2 Tiryns, 'scaic' access gateway along the city wall.



1



2

1 Late Geometric bronze 'peacock', Charles University, 2 LG I a kantharos, NM Prague.



1



2



3



4

1 LG I b pitcher of the Workshop Athens 706, 2 LG II a amphora of the Philadelphia Painter, both Charles University, 3 detail of mounted warriors on 2, 4 horse figurine from Mladá Boleslav, courtesy L. Smejtek.



1



2



3



4

1 LG I b pyxis with team of horses, Laurion Workshop (?), 2 LG II a mug, 3-4 LG I b kantharos and mug LG II a. 1 Charles University, 2-4 National Museum Prague.



1-2 glass beads from Závist, 3 glass bead from Pistiros, 4 mask bead from Slovenia, 5 fragment of glass aryballos from Strakonice, 6 collier of glass beads from Lípa near Hradec Králové, 7-8 knob, pin and sheath of dagger from Cimmerian grave at Belogradec near Varna. 1-2, 5-6 Bohemia, 3 and 7-8 Bulgaria, 4 Slovenia.



1



3



2



4

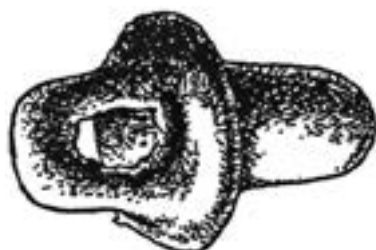
1-4 stone anchors from the Bulgarian coast around Apollonia, Sozopol museum.



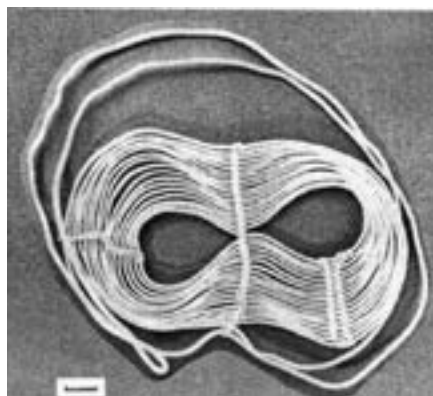
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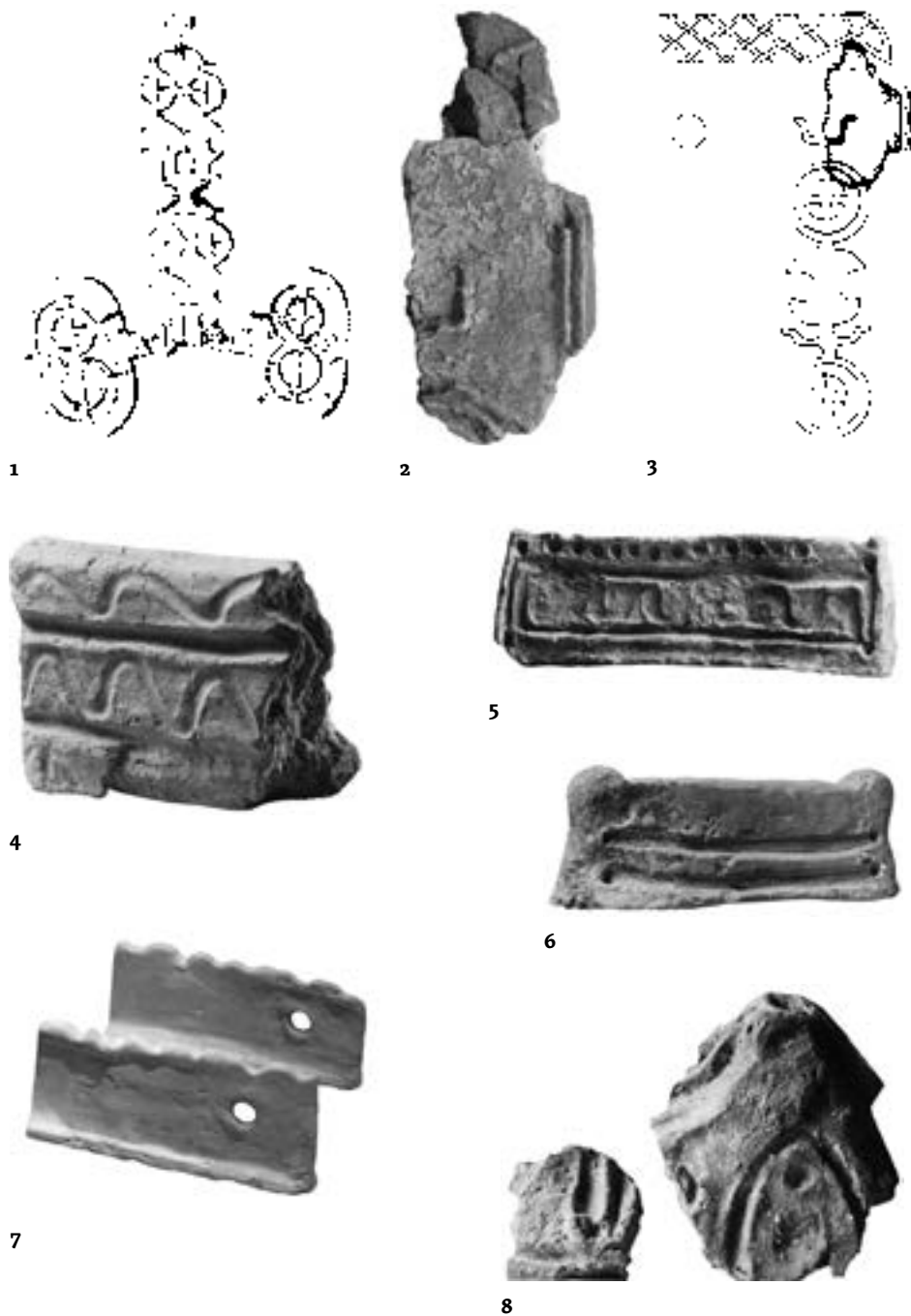


6

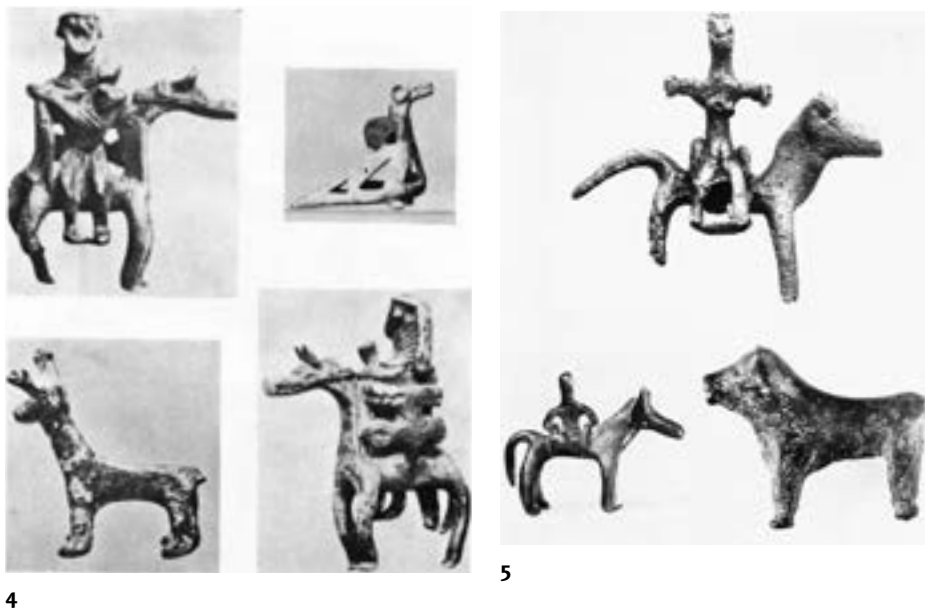
1 pithos fragment from Dobeš, 2 vessel wagon from Milavče, 3 pendant from Vrcovice, 4 figure-of-eight gold bundle from East Bohemia, 5 the Dupljaja charioteer, 6 stag from Sevljevo.



The Valcitrán hoard, after Bouzek 2005.



1 pendant from Hungary, NM Budapest, 2-3 decoration of Černý Vůl 'altar' and reconstruction, 4-6 firedogs from near Halle, 5 similar from Volos, Greece, 8 fragments of clay 'altars' from NW Bohemia, after Bouzek - Vokolek 2016.



1-3 Macedonian bronzes (1 mus, Cambridge, 2 from Trilophon-Messimeri, Chalcidice, 3 Tren),
4 Caucasian bronzes from Samos, 5 their imitations from Lousoi and Tegea; bull from the
Troad.



Men leading horses on Argive LG vases from Tiryns, photos courtesy DAI Athens.



1



2

1 LG I b man leading horses, Kerameikos, 2 Agive LG I horses with solar symbols, photo courtesy DAI Athens.



1



2

1 MG I pyxidae, 2 EG I-II amphora and pitcher, fragment of PG oinochoe, Charles University.



1



2

1 MG II pyxis with horse, 2 LG I a kantharos, NM Prague.



1



2



1 LG II a jug of the Rattle Group, 2 LG II a skyphos and juglet, NM Prague.



1



2

1-2 LG tankards, NM Prague. 1 LG II a, 2 LG II b.



1



2

1 LG II b amphorae, 2 LG I a spouted cup, all NM Prague.



1



2



3

1 LG II b amphora, 2 LG II b amphora, Athens 897 Workshop, 3 LG Melian cup, all NM Prague.



1



2



3

1 LG Plate, Charles University, 2 LG granary model, NM Prague, 3 Boeotian LG juglet, Charles University.



1



2



1 LPG lekythos, private collection, Prague, 2 LG II hydria, NM Prague.



LG I b pitcher, Athens 706 Workshop, Charles University.



1 2 3



4

1 Schliemann's sword from Mycenae, 2 spearhead from Kangadhi, Achaea, 3 sword from Kallithea, tomb B, after AAE, 4 Mycenae, entrance into 'casematte'.

PART 4: LATE GEOMETRIC

4.1 FROM PASTURE TO POLIS

In the year 776 BC, the date of the first all-Greek Olympic games, the Greeks officially began their own history. At the beginning of the 8th century Greece was a closed primitive country and at the end of the century strong city states existed with prospering daughter settlements on Sicily, in southern Italy, North Africa and south-eastern part of the Adriatic Sea; in the Levant the Greeks settled as *metoikoi* in quarters of Phoenician and Syrian cities. The social stratification advanced, the city-states with their constitutions were established (Langdon 1993; Morris 1999).

GREEK COLONISATION

As mentioned by Herodotus, poverty was always a sister of Greece. With positive climatic fluctuation around 800 BC, with enough rains and good crops the population could grow; with the later series of bad years many Greeks tried to improve their position elsewhere. Some served as mercenaries in the East and in Egypt, others went in groups to get good agricultural land elsewhere. At around 800 BC they were sailing already over most of the Mediterranean Sea; Greek pottery arrived to the Levant, Sardinia and Etruria. The first expeditions were made for trade and piracy connected to it; later to find new agricultural land for growing population as they founded their own colonies (cf. Coldstream 2003, 109–190). The earliest known in Italy, Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia and Kyme in Campania, were established around 770 BC, others on Sicily and in South Italy from the middle till the end of the 8th century (**fig. 78**; cf. Coldstream 2003, 233–239). In Sicily the first was Megara Hyblaea with the mid 8th century pottery, then Euboean Naxos in 734, slightly later followed Leontinoi and Catane. Corinth founded Syracuse in 733 and the Phoenicians rather moved to western Sicily, to escape wars with the Greeks. The skyphoi with pendant semicircles are characteristic for the earliest overseas emporia sites, the chevron skyphoi for the third quarter of the 8th century and the bird skyphoi for its end (**fig. 64**).

In Apulia Tarent was the only Spartan colony, but in most parts of the western coast of the Adria the mighty local population, namely of the Iapygoi

and Daunians from around Monte Gargano, stopped until the late 6th century any attempts of the Greeks to found important colonies on their territory and also on the north of Corfu, to sail to northern Adriatic. The Etruscans with rich sources of metals were lucrative trade partners, even inviting Greek artisans and artists, but despite traces of contacts since ca. 800 BC and local Geometric pottery produced at Tarquinia and Caere in Euboean style, early Greek colonies never reached direct vicinity of their cities (cf. Coldstream 2003, 233). Strange enough, the earliest Greek inscriptions are known not only from Pithekoussai on Ischia, but also on the outskirts of Rome (cf. Coldstream 2003, 295–302).

Greek Massilia and Emporio in NW Mediterranean are 7th century foundations, but in 7th century Greek ships sailed around most parts of the Mediterranean and also in the Black Sea, where many East Greek colonies, mainly by Milesians, were founded in mid 7th century and Greek pottery penetrated deep inland along the main rivers (cf. Tsekhladze 2015). Only the Gibraltar Straits were closed to them by Carthaginian navy. A network of maritime trade connection was established, with Greeks and Phoenicians sometimes fighting, but in other cases collaborating for common benefit (cf. esp. Tsekhladze 2007).

GREECE

In Greece itself the city states—poleis—became established as autonomous units, with only few ethnoi without city left on the periphery of the Greek world. Business could bring more money than land tenure of traditional aristocracy and the first tyrannies appeared. Greek particularism is also reflected in the art. Local schools of vase painting emerged, enabling to distinguish workshops and groups of painters. Local differences are also expressed in the plastic art of the poleis. They stemmed from the competitive spirit of Early Greece, of the maturing troubles of the youth of the mankind.

Sculptors and painters had—in contrary to poets, writers, musicians and dancers—no Muses, only models in crippled Hephaestus and unstable Daedalus, who committed murder and had to run from his city to be involved in dark building activity at Knossos labyrinth. But even the artists had contests and their works were admired. Nicolas Coldstream noted that local styles of pottery emerged in the city states, not with the ethnoi. Athens, as illustrated still on the west pediment of the Parthenon, didn't take part in Great Colonisation; they remained agricultural country, with the production of silver in Laurion mines that attracted Phoenician merchants, but they already took the leading position in art.

VASE PAINTING: ATHENS

The peak of the Geometric vase painting was reached in Athens. At the beginning of the 8th century the Strict Style created the strict rules of balance, including the one to one relation between ornament and black surface; in the second quarter of the 8th century the Ripe Style developed; with the ornament covering the whole vessel. First appeared the vessel of Dionysus, kantharos with two high handles, first floral motives (rosettes and leaf stars, cf. **fig. 84** and **pl. A 3**) and namely figural painting. The first scenes with its immediacy remind of the rock carvings from Scandinavia (**fig. 39.5**) and of LH III C predecessors (**fig. 44**); only slowly they are incorporated into the rhythm of the vase by filling ornament between the figures (**fig. 77.1-2**). The human figure is depicted similarly as in other primitive arts; head and legs up to waist are from profile, shoulders and eyes in frontal view (**fig. 79.1-2**). Narrow tail was fashionable both for men and women; Homer's heroes and heroines had never mentioned belly with the only exception of beggars in the court of Odysseus who suffered hunger. First figures of both sexes are depicted as naked; only from the middle of the 8th century female figures got long dresses and eyes and hair are marked.

In the Ripe Style black glaze disappears from most of the body and the whole surface is covered by dense ornament reminding of textile patterns. This style reaches its peak on big vases that originally stood on the graves of the Athens' aristocracy. So called Great Dipylon amphora, the work of painter who led the most important workshop in Athens, excels in its perfection of proportional system, delicacy of drawing, balance of decoration and also in the central theme. It is usually the mourning of the dead exposed on bier—*prothesis* (**fig. 77.1-2**); less often as transported on the funeral wagon—*ekphora*—to his grave. The figural scenes are filled with supplementary ornaments to avoid empty places (*horror vacui*), and also as simile to add the atmosphere to the main subject represented (Hampe 1952). First lions and fantastic animals were inspired by neo-Hittite art, where also the *prothesis* with checkboard cloak thrown over the body had its model.¹ Part of the funeral was the parade of chariots, riders and foot warriors (**fig. 79.1-2**, **pl. A 5.2-3**), dancing scenes and scenes of war, perhaps suggesting some celebre acts of the deceased; at least they are missing in *prothesis* of female deceased. In the second to third quarter of the 8th century the crowded war scenes inspired by Assyrian reliefs include sea battles, scenes that disappeared around 730 BC. The change is ascribed to the war with Aegina that was lost and that for long time diverted the interest of Athenians in external expansion.

1 Museum Mosul inv. no. FWW 904; other parallels in Egypt.

Several tens of schools, workshops and vase painters can already be distinguished, the first individuals in the second quarter of the 8th century, notably the Master of the Great Dipylon amphora. A few of them were specialized in large kraters, most of them in smaller amphorae and pitchers, including the drinking cups. The complicated drawing of fine ornament was time consuming and demanding deep concentration. In Late Geometric Ib the rigid filling patterns dissolve, the human and animal figures display more details, and less time consuming décor starts to be preferred. In the third quarter of the 8th century drawing of ornaments simplifies, becomes more perfunctory and in some workshops only abbreviated idiom remained. Human figure gets in the centre of attention, it shows inner details and filling ornament is less dense.

In Late Geometric II (the last quarter of the 8th century) the free fields are more common and figures have more details marked: eyes, nose and chin. With acceptance of floral ornament the style slowly changes into Protoattic, while preserving the basic shapes and framing of painted decoration. Around 720/10 BC spirals and floral ornaments took the lead, the face starts to be depicted by contour line and Athenian vase painting moves into the period of Orientalizing style; it follows its more advanced neighbours at that time in Corinth and on Crete where this process took place earlier.

First reflection of myths and heroic poetry appears on Attic vases in the 3rd quarter of the 8th century (**figs. 87–88**, Odysseus saved on beam after wrecking, Nestor in race contest with twins Molions; cf. Fittschen 1998; Snodgrass 1998). Their parallels are known from Pithekoussai and on Boeotian engraved fibulae.

OTHER GREEK CENTRES

Argive Late Geometric had big vases with stepped meander, leaf-shaped lozenges and columns of floating chevrons. Horses and birds connected with solar symbolic are common besides the men leading horses (**pl. B 5–6**; the style was imitated in SW Peloponnese, where also figural motifs start to appear; the Argive seals (**fig. 82.1**) show schematic figures similar to those on vases. Corinth produced in large quantities splendid small globular aryballoi, alabastra and pitchers for perfumes, besides drinking service with large cup, kotyle. Its style influenced the whole NE Greece, Sicily and SE Italy. It changed into Early Orientalising style already in the last quarter of the 8th century. Under the Bacchiades Corinth became rich mercantile city, even fine ivories were carved here, stemmed as those from Athens and Eleusis from Phoenician school, but adopted to the Greek taste.

Euboean pottery came with its colonies to the west, including Etruria; rural Boeotia was in the shade of its Attic neighbour, but it produced large

bronze fibulae with incised figures (Hampe 1936) and female terracotta figurines with hairdo of the Greek orthodox priests—*papades*. Cycladic schools called Parian and Naxian may have both worked on Naxos. Melos and Thera had their particular schools of painted pottery, including carved gems on Melos and relief pithoi on Thera, most characteristic for Tenos. Zagora on Andros imported much Eretrian pottery; the small town was heavily fortified and destroyed ca. 700 BC (**fig. 57**). Cretan Late Geometric knew polychromy and a number of local styles in individual regions, reflecting the split into small poleis. It also took many impulses from the East, from Phoenicia and Cyprus (Coldstream 2003, 271–290).

The bird bowls were made on Samos and also elsewhere in Late Geometric and later, the large family of the Wild Goat styles started at Miletus ca. 700 BC (Coldstream 2003, 271–290).

SCULPTURE

In the field of bronzework the main centres were Argos, Sparta, Corinth and Athens, but at Olympia and Delphi wandering bronzesmiths casted souvenirs for participants of feasts in various local styles. Tripods serving also as prizes in contests were made in Argos, Corinth, Athens and Crete. The *sphyrelata*, statues mounted from beaten bronze sheets and mounted on wooden core, are best known from Dreros in Crete and Olympia (Coldstream 2003, 126–128, 146–152, 161 f., 174–179). Thessaly and Macedonia developed besides painted an unpainted pottery of similar shapes (**fig. 31.8**) interesting groups of decorative bronze pendants, beads, bracelets and neck rings, later also gold and silver jewellery (cf. here ch. 7), a field in which the rich Ionia took the lead. Eastern Greece accepted many impulses and imports of pottery and small sculpture from Cyprus and the Phoenicians. Small bronze figurines of particular styles were made notably in Athens, Argos, Corinth, Laconia and Crete (cf. Coldstream 2003, 145, 174–176, 196, 202, 281–285); secondary production centres existed notably in western part of central Greece, Thessaly and Macedonia (cf. ch. 7, here **fig. 110**). Geometric figurines strictly respected the three dimensions of the space. In group of two each of them kept its particular space (**figs. 85–86**).

Many dedications of decorative bronzework from the East arrived in main Greek sanctuaries, Olympia, Delphi, Acropolis of Athens and even more so in the East Aegean and Crete; Greek craftsmen took over the Oriental monsters as inspirations and started to tame them in a process, which took the next hundred years (cf. Coldstream 2003, 358–366). In Cyprus most of local kingdoms were Greek, Kition Phoenician and Paphos Eteocypriot. In the Levant Greeks lived as *metoikoi* and Greek pottery was imported, but even more from the Levant to Greece.

The Greek renaissance was inspired by Homeric poems, by some Mycenaean and Minoan monuments available, among them gems, and together with Oriental models it led to transition to 7th century Orientalizing style. The old aristocracy stylised itself as descendants of Homeric heroes, fighting monsters and giant Polyphemus; some cases show quotations of oral poetry (e.g., in duels of heroes, kidnapping of Helen). Some war scenes may be quotations from life of the deceased or his comparison to the Homeric heroes of aristocratic ideal. Most of Greek Geometric pottery was drinking service for symposium; one of the first known graffiti on an Attic pitcher says: To the best dancer!

Old Smyrna of 8th century was already town with rectangular checkboard of blocks (**fig. 80**), while the revision of digs at Lato, long considered being of 8th century date, found only classical foundations (Gaignerot-Driessen 2012, 59–82). The Late Geometric iron tools, implements and armour were used also later in Archaic Greece (**fig. 81**).

4.2 THE STRUCTURE OF SETTLEMENTS, TEMPLES

For the time-span covered by this book, there are many detailed surveys covering various local settlements from Cyprus and Israel, while the situation in Greece and Italy, where large-scale excavations uncovering complete settlement sites are rare, remains are less well known.

The pastoralists usually had two settlements, one for summer pasture in the hills (like Vitsa Zagoriou), which was really theirs, and a second where they stayed during the winters in the lowland, where they often had to establish a *modus vivendi* with their agricultural neighbours.²

Greece saw in late 2nd millennium tensions, reflected in the constructions of strong fortifications, then their destructions and splitting into smaller communities, and later still a deeper decline of the civilisation level. Pirates' nests, like Paleokastro-Maa in Cyprus, were probably the forts of the Sea Peoples. Greek legends knew them probably as Pelasgians or, as stated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pelargoi, stork-people (Dion. Halic. I, 28,3–4). Settlements built high up in the Cretan mountains, as Kaphi and those examined recently by D. C. Haggis and K. Nowicki (Haggis 2005; Nowicki 1988, 2000), were probably those of the refugees. This situation, similar in many ways to what happened in the Mediterranean later in the Dark Age

2 Cf. the two colloquia of the XIIIth UISPP congress Forlì 1996: Coll. XXII: The evolution of settlement systems and society in Europe and the Mediterranean during the Bronze Age and its pre- and protourban developments (ed. by C. Belardelli and R. Peroni), and Coll. XXV: Primary centre and secondary developments of urbanism in Europe (ed. by M. Bietti Sestieri and V. Kruta; Hodós 2006).

between Roman and Mediaeval civilisations, and earlier at the end of EB II in the Eastern Mediterranean, resulted in a new, much more primitive situation in Greece and Anatolia, while the time of decline was shorter and less far-reaching in Cyprus, and still less so in the Levant.

The new settlement pattern starting in the 11th century is best known from Cyprus (cf. esp. Iacovou 1994, 149–166), where there emerged at that time the core of settlement structure of later towns, which may have been founded (on a modest level first) at that time. In Greece and Italy, the settlement pattern of the early Dark Age was more modest. Zagora on Andros shows a village with more space between houses (**fig. 57**), Lathourza in Attica may be quoted as an example of a densely built village with simple huts. Although already in the 9th century BC the first urban nuclei of Etruscan cities known from later Etruria emerged, as in Ionia, like Ancient Smyrna (**fig. 80**), eighth century BC advanced in urbanisation and in establishment of Greek poleis in their later sense. It was also the age in which official Greek history started with the first Olympiad, as well as the semi-legendary foundation of Rome. The emerging poleis consisted of a modest urban nucleus and smaller villages in its chora.

From the limited information we have especially from Nichoria and from eastern Crete, thanks to the American excavations there; the Early Dark Age villages were not much larger at first than those known from temperate Europe (cf. also Karphi, HG fig. 41), and cattle breeding with some agriculture represented the principal form of land use in the more fertile plains, while sheep and goat were much more common than cattle in the hilly areas with less high grass pasture. On this field notably A. Mazarakis brought much useful information on Latourza and other sites (1997, 2011, 2016; Mazarakis-Ainian 2006, 365–398). Cf. Hägg 1990, Drerup 1969; Karageorghis – Moris 2001; Karageorghis 1975.

Generally, during the earlier Dark Age the settlement pattern in Greece, Italy and those parts of Anatolia where more information is available, were basically similar to the “prehistoric” pattern known from temperate Europe, while later the beginnings of urbanisation soon surpassed the modest initial stage in Europe (cf. e.g., Ancient Smyrna, **fig. 80**).

The data showing settlement decrease during LH III C, and most notably in Submycenaean – Early Protogeometric (resp. Dark Age I, and partly II) periods, shown many years ago by P. Álin and myself in HG (as Desborough 1952 and Bouzek in VDI 1962/1, 104–114) have since been generally confirmed, and even the placing into the Early Dark Age what was the main characteristic of Athenian synoicism (i.e. the concentration of population to Athens; for Zagora cf. Cambitoglou et al. 1972, 1981; for Lathourza Mazarakis-Ainian 1995, 46–61), is now considered being a plausible theory (Gelder 1991, 55–64).

The first significant increase of population belonged to later 9th century in most parts of Greece, and the 8th century saw a steady and rapid increase

to the late 8th BC century climatic crisis, when population density hit its limits, and drought brought famine. The curves of climatic development and settlement density in the Mediterranean and in Central Europe were generally complementary to each other (**fig. 13–14**). The change in the first half of the 8th century, catastrophic in Central Europe (Primas 2016, 271–378), brought more rains and rise of population in Greece; the late 8th century drought in Greece caused tensions, civic struggle and the first wars on a larger scale (like the Lelantine war in Euboea; McKesson 1983, 54–62; cf. Carpenter 1966). Greek colonisation offered an answer to many adventurers, who would not be able to survive in their native communities.

The 7th century BC settlement pattern has basically two different models: those poleis which founded colonies and developed significant sea-borne trade, developed new rich class of merchants and artisans more rapidly, while in other parts of Greece the land aristocracy retained its power longer. We leave this development at the close of the Archaic period of Greece and Etruria, with urban centres well-developed and fortified; such communities surpassed their predecessors in the second millennium BC.

Eighth century temples are represented in all main Greek sanctuaries. Long halls with two or three naves prevail; the small *in antis* type is known especially from models (GAE 64–67; **fig. 58** and **66**), the metal armour, weapons and ornaments are finer (HG 152–61; Coldstream 2003, 303–340; Mazarakis Ainian 1997a). Besides the bronze pendants, bracelets, beads and plaques, serving as common jewellery and *ex-vota* in sanctuaries, the finer of gold becomes more common, too (cf. here Part 7) and the life standard of the upper and middle class ceases to be of prehistoric character. The new synthesis looked to the old heritage of the Mycenaean past, it takes over many impulses from its Anatolian neighbours, Phoenicians, Syrians, Neo-Hittites and also from Egypt (Coldstream 2003, 334–369, 390–414). Greek civilisation and art enter the new age called Orientalising, with inspiration from more sophisticated close and more distant neighbours, but at the same time inspiring its less sophisticated neighbours as the leading force in founding after the Geometric *koine* the new one, which uses to be called Orientalizing (cf. here Part 8).

4.3 REVIEWS

A. J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece, 900–700 BC*, 2nd edition. London, Routledge 2003.³

3 Addendum to the review in *Gnomon* 53, 392–394.

Against the similar second edition of *The Dark Age of Greece* by Anthony Snodgrass (Edinburgh 2000), who added only a very short chapter and left most of the text untouched, Nicolas Coldstream improved some pages and added an exhaustive supplement (pp. 371–415). But it is fascinating to see how much of the first edition published in 1977 remained sound, how little progress has been made when compared with the “revolutionary” syntheses of late sixties and seventies of the last century. The sovereign competence of the author is clear from the addenda and also from the small improvements of the original text. Important new finds are listed and commented in the addendum, relations to the Near East thoroughly analyzed with great competence. The Phoenician impact in the Aegean is one of the fields where our knowledge significantly enlarged since the first edition of this book, and the new evidence is fully respected in the new edition. J. N. C. is one of the scholars who follow one particular subject during the whole life and no one can compete now with him in the competency in his proper field. A new article by him on Protogeometric pottery found at Tell Rehov in Israel (published in *Israel Exploration Journal* 53, 2003, 29–48) is one of his many detailed studies on various aspects of the Dark Age, a field in which he is a real master, equally in details as in synthetic picture. The key period of emergence of Iron Age Greece is seen from his point of view very well, but other aspects should be added to get the complete picture. There is very little in the book on anything in Northern Greece and the Balkans is completely outside the author’s field of interest. A similar situation is in the topic of interpretation of Homeric poems in the frame of the period (the enlarged knowledge of 10th–9th century suggests that the ancient tradition need not be wrong and that the “Proto”-Homer may have lived around 900 BC), on the general problems of transition from the Age of Heroes to the Age of Iron, well described in different characters of the heroes in the *Iliad*, on the first steps toward the Greek philosophy, on the “birth of logos”, etc. These phenomena deeply studied a. o. by Jean-Pierre Vernant or Bruno Snell seem also to interest the author much less than the empiric study of archaeological finds, notably pottery, the main bulk of archaeological sources of this period. In the questions outside C.’s main field of interest one finds less in the book under review than many readers may have expected. In my eyes it concerns also the questions of northern relations of Geometric Greece, a field where our opinions were still not identical, though otherwise one can agree with nearly anything what he wrote.

B. J. N. Coldstream: *Greek Geometric Pottery. A survey of ten local styles and their chronology. Updated second edition.* Bristol, Phoenix Press 2008.⁴

4 Cf. *Gnomon* 82, 668–669.

Nicolas Coldstream was one of the masters of the empiric British school which established stylistic classification of Greek painted pottery following the path of J. D. Beazley. He participated in excavations in Knossos and Kythera and published books on Knossos cemeteries and pottery, but his main oeuvre was the classification of Greek Geometric pottery. The first edition of this book became the basic manual to all archaeologists dealing with the Geometric period in Greece and the most important archaeological background of the later part of so-called Dark Age, to whose enlightenment he basically contributed. He was a perfect example of British gentleman at his best, excellent teacher with many students from Britain, USA, Greece and other countries, but during most of his professional career he was concentrated in Geometric age of Greece, to which he also contributed in many papers to international colloquia and collective works.

The second edition of his oeuvre on Geometric pottery will undoubtedly remain the basic source for anyone who wants to deal with Geometric Greece and Greek colonisation. All important new publications are thoroughly discussed in the addenda, which form one third of the book under review, and some passages have also been rewritten in the main part of the text taken over from the first edition. The photographs on the plates are taken over from the first edition, the hardbound second edition is in all respects of high quality. New ascriptions of individual vases to in the first edition defined workshops are not many. My impression was that also a series of minor vases could be added to some of his workshop groups, but also did not proceed much farther, and C.' self-criticism did not allow him to go beyond the limits of what he considered to be safe conclusions.

In Kuhn's terminology the paradigm of the mainstream of Classical archaeology has been changed and the classification of objects is no more that much the central task of the field, as it was for the older generation and its main prophet Sir John Beazley, but the book remains—besides other classifying works by J. M. and R. M. Cook on East Greek pottery, of Jack Benson and A. D. Amyx on Corinthian vases, etc.—the background of all further studies in any respect, also for those whose paradigm has changed. Nowadays it is believed by many specialists that the scientific analysis of clay is more important than the style for classification, but this is hardly true, and the stylistic framework will also in the future remain one of the basic sources for studying and understanding interrelations between individual areas and sites, individual masters, their workshops and their clients as well as for general history of art and of the human mind behind. The rich varieties of Geometric styles in individual poleis show the competitive spirit characteristic for all Greek culture and stylistic varieties of the workshop groups also the pride of individual potters and painters on their products. Nicolas Coldstream was

still able to follow the printing of the book; he died in March 2008, just still able to finish his last proofs.

His death marks, after the death of R. M. Cook a few years ago, the end of the activities of the generation whose main task was the detailed classifications of stylistic groups of Greek vases in the empirical way. One of the approaches to study of Greek Geometric art as a system of schools and workshops is in a way accomplished, but many other questions remain. The number of identified settlements and cemeteries with Geometric finds enlarged substantially, the new documents on mutual influence between the Greeks and their neighbours in Greek colonies enlarged the picture of Greek pottery styles, the scientific analyses of clay open new perspectives, as do new studies of iconography. To the problems not tackled in C's books belongs, among others, the question of correlation of the archaeological picture with the two main literary works of this age. The relation of Geometric art to Homer and Hesiod remained here beyond the scope of interest of the author, as were the questions of the rise of Greek polis, of the patterns of Greek colonization and of the transition to philosophical approach to reality, to Greek rational *logos*. But anyway, thanks to Nicolas Coldstream, it is much easier to try to proceed forward also in other fields of study of Early Iron Age Greek art and civilization.

C. Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World, Networks in the ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford UP 2011, 284 pp. with illustrations.⁵

The book deals with some previously neglected aspects of Greek colonisation based on historical sources and on some theoretic concepts, which he explains in the introduction called "Networks and history". He found models for his approach first among those historians who refused the 19th century explanations based on that-time nationalistic and colonial positions of European scholars. Individual stories on heroic expeditions and founding of colonies were *paroles* of the common *langue* of mythology, the field of stories, where Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans and their neighbours held similar pattern of their views. The network of interrelations was based on links between many local centres, none of imposing obligatory cultural unification, as it existed e.g. in the Roman Empire. The author compares the network of Archaic Greece with our internet, as loosely organized system without unifying respected centre. Being not an archaeologist, however, he jumps over the Dark Age situation and does not discuss the shift from state-organized expeditions, as they still existed at the time of Salomon and his ally Hiram,

5 First published in *Ancient West and East* 11 (2012), 211–212, additions.

to the privately funded ventures, joining trade with piracy; the privatisation of the sphere was established during the 9th–8th centuries.

The well-known passage with Herodotus distinguishes several stages of trade contacts: of which fine Greek pottery starts to play more important role only in the stage, in which the settlers try to continue their specific dining habits as expression of their identity and transmit these customs also to their local neighbours. The first groups of settlers have usually few women with them and they take wives from the local population (cf. Bouzek 2009, 19–22, with further bibliography).

Some early emporia are known notably from early Phoenician foundations behind the Straits of Gibraltar. The literary tradition dated their origin ca. 1100 BC, Phoenician and Greek pottery and C14 dates show these stations fully developed in 8th century. Generally, the Phoenicians preceded the Greeks in merchant ventures in most parts of the Mediterranean, and the story was generally accepted also in Greek tradition on thalassocracies (cf. esp. Brandherm – Trachsel, eds. 2008).

The following chapter, “Island networking and Hellenic convergence: from Rhodes to Naukratis”, discussed the area with close links with Cyprus and also with the Phoenicians, who lived as *metoikoi* producing glass, faience and textiles in Rhodes and in other East Greek cities, including the Black Sea area (cf. Bouzek 2012a, 125–134).

The chapter “Sicily and the Greeks: Apollo Archegetes and the Sikeliote network” also needs some addenda on the Phoenicians who, according to Thucydides VI, 2–3, did not like to fight and left most parts of Sicily to the Greeks. Greek legends ascribed even foundations of non-Greek cities in Italy and the Adriatic to heroes of the Trojan War. Of often syncretic figures Heracles and Melqart, considered by the author “identical networking heroes”, the former was less common founder of Greek *apoikias*, whose patron was mostly Apollo (also for his Delphic oracle), but was probably worshipped in places like Pithekoussai, where Greeks, Phoenicians and North Syrians lived together while trading for common benefit.

The last two chapters deal with “Networks and middle grounds in the western Mediterranean” and “Cult and identity in the Far West: Phokaiaans, Ionians and Hellenes”. The stories of origin of colonies, of their relation to mother-city, of relations between sanctuaries, but also of common interest, were all aspects of mutual influence and dependence of the network, in which the sea was more connecting than dividing factor.

The book under review enlightens several aspects of Greek colonisation, while for other aspects the reader has to look elsewhere. From the point of view of an archaeologist the book is based mainly on written sources only and needs complementary approach respecting archaeological evidence. On the other hand, archaeologists should be grateful to the author for enlight-

ening aspects of Greek colonisation and cohabitation with their neighbours neglected in other books on the subject.

4.4 PRECOLONISATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BLACK SEA

Phoenician and Greek pre-colonisation in the West entered now more into the focus of interest of scholarship than it was usual earlier (cf. esp. Celestino – Rafel – Amada, eds. 2008) and the time seems to be ripe to approach a similar phenomenon in the Black Sea on the base of the recent state of research more in detail than it was possible twenty years ago (cf. Bouzek 1990a, 13–17).⁶

FIRST GREEK POTTERY FINDS IN THE BLACK SEA

The knowledge of the earliest painted pottery and trade amphorae in the Black Sea much enlarged during the last decade. The Middle White Goat I pottery is known not only from a number of Scythian tumuli, but also from the first Greek settlement at Orgame, Histria and Berezanj, from inland sites, like Belskoe gorodishte, and it was also identified among the finds from the Taganrog site (survey Tsekhladze 2007 and 2015). Similarly the bird bowls set from Taganrog started in the second quarter of the 7th century, the third quarter of that century is already well attested in many sites (Bouzek 2007a, 1223–1228) and the earliest transport amphorae came there not much later. This situation was now again well documented by G. Tsetskhladze (Tsekhladze 2007), while the historical sources for the earliest colonisation are now summed up by Jan de Boer (de Boer 2007, cf. also Maximova 1956 and Doonan 2007). Middle White Goat I sherds and the early bird bowls of the same date—2nd quarter to mid 7th century—are known not only from the Greek colonies, but also from Scythian graves and settlements partly far away from the sea. The discussion on what was five or ten years earlier according to one more fragment appears similarly little fruitful as was the old discussion on relation between Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea foundations by Valet and Villard in the fifties of the last century. But the fact that the mid 7th century came even in remote plates suggests that the links with the population of the area (Thracians, Scythians, Colchis, etc.) were established in some way earlier.

But the earlier history of Greek contacts with the Black Sea area is more difficult to trace by pottery finds. The authenticity of 8th century finds of pot-

6 Revisited paper first presented to Istanbul Black Sea congress, Istanbul, 14th–18th September 2009 (Bouzek 2013c). A more exhaustive list of early Greek pottery in the Black Sea gives now Tsetskhladze 2015, 11–42.

tery from Histria and Berezanj have been doubted. Pottery is more important for archaeologists than it was for ancient people. Even nowadays, it does not have especially important role in cultural identity of people who use them. There is an ongoing discussion on for whom Greek pots were imported. John Boardman thought that they came for Greek colonists (Boardman 2004), while Nicolas Coldstream was convinced that they were attractive enough also for non-Greeks (Coldstream 2003). Finds of Greek pottery from Scythian tombs speak in favour of the second opinion. Greek drinking service was probably more important for the settlers who wanted to continue their way of life with their drinking habits, but it was also recognized as valuable exotic objects contributing to the prestige of its possessors, among them non-Greeks, too.

IONIANS AND SCYTHIAN ART

While the early phase of Scythian art, during the second and third quarter of the 7th century stood under a strong influence of the Assyrian art, as especially documented now by the finds from the tombs of Assyrian queens at Nimrud, around 640 the Ionian influence became the most decisive and it remained so until the end of the 6th century both in jewellery and toreutics (Bouzek 2007a). In the field of terracottas, connected with traditional cults introduced by the colonists, non-Greeks had less interest in adopting foreign models, but as concerns male and female jewellery and toreutics, the Scythians were willing to be served by their Greek neighbours since art was accessible to them, and the Greek willing to work for their Scythian customers.

FIRST TRACES OF GREEK CONTACTS WITH THE BLACK SEA AREA

The sudden rising of Greek settlements in the second and third quarter of the 7th century could not be realized without previous knowledge. There was some oral tradition recording that the Greeks tried to settle in the Black Sea region, notably at Amisios and perhaps elsewhere as well, in late 8th century. However, this attempt had no good luck due to the Cimmerian invasion (cf. Maximova 1956, Doonan 2007, de Boer 2007). Legendary stories on the penetrations in the Black Sea by the Argonauts are dated in the mythological time earlier than the Trojan War, and the limited number of analyses made so far pointed out that the Shaft Graves gold came from Transylvania. Mycenaean swords are known from Bulgaria and Romania (cf. Bouzek 1990a, 13–17; 2007b, 1222).

Reports on Thracian thalassocracy following that of the Pelasgians can be placed in the Dark Age. The finds of Bronze Age types of stone anchors from the Bulgarian coast are not dated properly, while the finds of Myce-

naean pottery in this area are in most cases doubtful (Bouzek 2007b). The alleged finds of Geometric pottery from Histria and Berezan, however, have not been confirmed by modern digs; the Cypriot Black-on-Red fragments of Histria are not exactly dateable (Bouzek 1990a, 17f.). The precolonial trade had rather other reasons than bringing pottery to the local inhabitants. Pottery is certainly more important for archaeologists than it was for early travellers; similar situation was with the earliest trading stations of the Phoenicians in the Western Mediterranean.

In the field of bronze objects, some parallels derived from links caused by others, like the Belozërka elements with links westwards, but the Hordeevka cemetery already shows influences from the south, west and east in its jewellery; the Tiryns and Alumière types of amber beads show links to the Baltic region and to the Aegean as well. In the Cimmerian period, many types of bronze objects link the Caucasus area with the Balkans and even connections with Central Europe are attested, while Caucasian bronzes are known for ex. from Samos Heraeum (**pl. B 1.6, B 4.4–5**; ch. 7–8). The earliest of the Caucasus fibulae are closely similar to East Greek variants (cf. Bouzek 1990a, 16–18). All these elements show that some contacts between the Aegean and the Black Sea existed prior to colonization and pottery imports, too. The Mediterranean LBA ingots from Bulgaria, the Bronze Age anchors and other objects (Bouzek 2007c) show that even during the Dark Age there was some continuity of relations between the Aegean and the Black Sea, though on much more modest scale than later.

SUPPOSED STAGES OF TRADE CONTACTS AND PRE-COLONISATION

The well-known passage with Herodotus (IV, 196) shows the simplest kinds of trade contacts.

1. The most simple stage is visits by ships at some intervals, with some arrangements for the exchange of goods. In the case of the silent trade, the newcomers put their goods on the exhibits and the other side also put besides theirs for exchange. Goods are added from both sides, and when both are content, they pack the good of the other side and leave.
2. The next step is the merchant coming in regular intervals and expecting his customers waiting. Both sides have to gain some knowledge on the other, including the rules of hospitality, even if sometimes this was damaged by piracy or bandits.
3. The third stage requires marketing places and agents on the spot (port of call, the main village in the area, under the supervision of the local ruler).
4. The more sophisticated stage requires metoikoi living in the place and organizing the system of trade/exchange.

5. If more merchants settled, an emporion is founded or a quarter of foreign traders (like the Assyrian merchants had at Boghazköy). Fine pottery starts to play more important role only in the stage 5, in which the settlers try to continue their specific dining habits as expression of their identity and transmit it also to their local neighbours.
6. The first stage of colonization is founded to improve the conditions of trade with the locals and safeguarding the naval base against the rivals (as did the Phoenicians against the Greeks, the Portuguese stations in 16th century in Africa or the Genuans in the medieval Black Sea). The first groups of settlers have usually few women with them and they take wives from the local population.
7. Full scale colonization including large groups of settlers with their families was nearly everywhere in human history caused primarily by economic or political difficulties in the original homeland. In the Black Sea, the main reason for large-scale emigration was the pressure of the eastern neighbours of the Ionian cities; in Miletus the diminishing of agricultural chora by the Lydians in late 7th century and after the Persian occupation in the 540's (cf. Tsekhladze 2002).

MAIN COMMODITIES TRADED IN THE PRE-COLONIAL AND EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

The pre-pottery phase of Greek trade with the Black Sea was apparently concentrated in the more important commodities; metals were as important for antiquity as the crude oil is for us now. Besides the copper and gold also iron was much in demand, and the areas in the SE corner of the Black Sea were one of the first centres of ironworking. The areas of Histria and of Apollonia (the latter in Strandja) had important metal production. When the rich depositions of iron objects disappear from the Colchidean graves it may have been caused by its higher price of metal paid by Greek traders. The business during the early stage may have been similarly profitable as that by Kolaïos of Samos mentioned by Herodotus (IV, 52) and worth of risking even the life. As against the Bronze Age with its state-organized international trade, Iron Age trade was privatized and depending of the initiatives of private entrepreneurs.

CONCLUSIONS

For all these reasons mentioned above, there is at least very probable that there existed in the Black Sea, as did in the Mediterranean, a precolonisation phase of Greek trade, in which ships travelled across the Bosphorus northwards, and made use of trade possibilities at least with metals, the *nervus*

rerum of all ancient civilisations. The pre-colonial phase prior to the second quarter of the 7th century prepared the know-how for the sudden outburst of Greek interest in the Black Sea and also the willingness of the Scythians and of other peoples of the region to accept Greek wares, merchants and craftsmen. A symbiosis evolved, useful for all participants. It created a community in which all participants preserved their identity for centuries, but they also participated in the same network of a broader commonwealth for the benefit of all, similarly as we try to do it in our days. Greek sanctuaries received gifts from the east, north and Italy, the metals preceded usually the pottery (I. Kilian 1985, 2003, 2007; Hägg, ed. 1985; Bielefeld 1968).

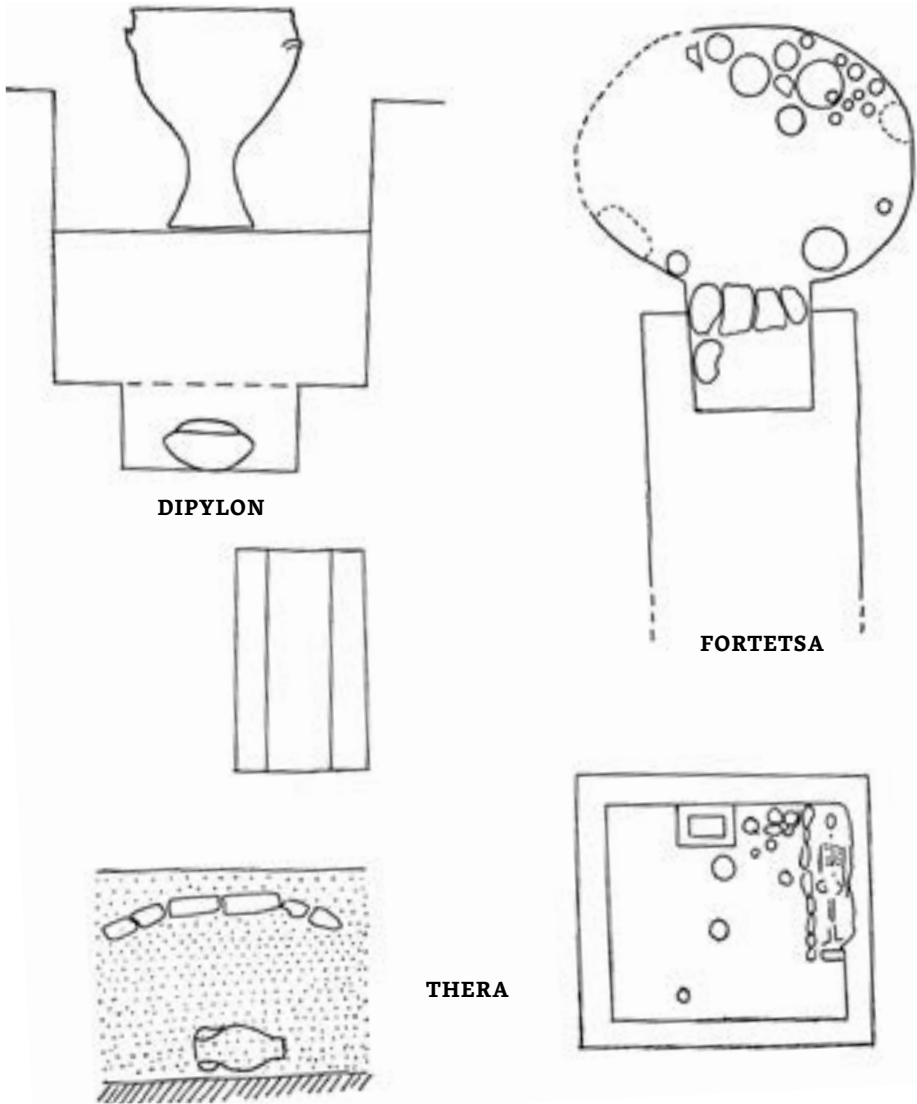


Fig. 75: Types of graves. Dipylon cemetery Athens, Fortetsa near Knossos, Crete, and Thera. After GAE.

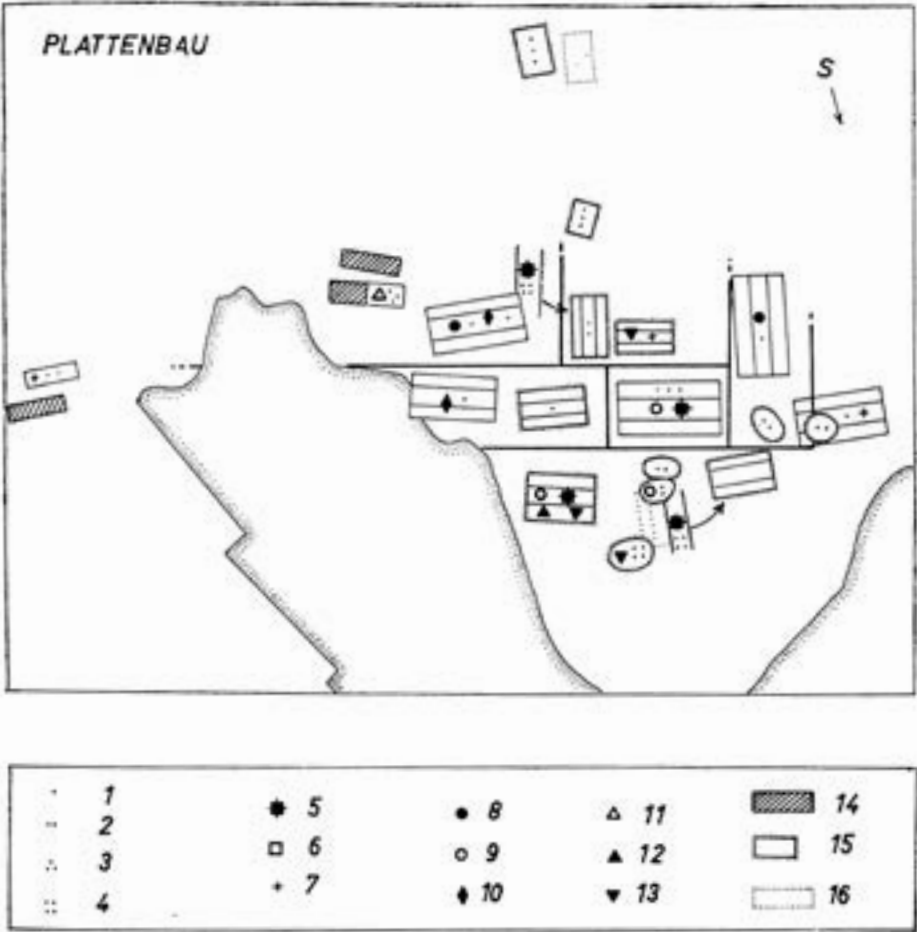


Fig. 76: “Plattenbau”, burial district of an aristocratic family in Kerameikos. After HG.



Fig. 77: Two scenes of prothesis on Attic LG vases in Oxford and Louvre. After HG.

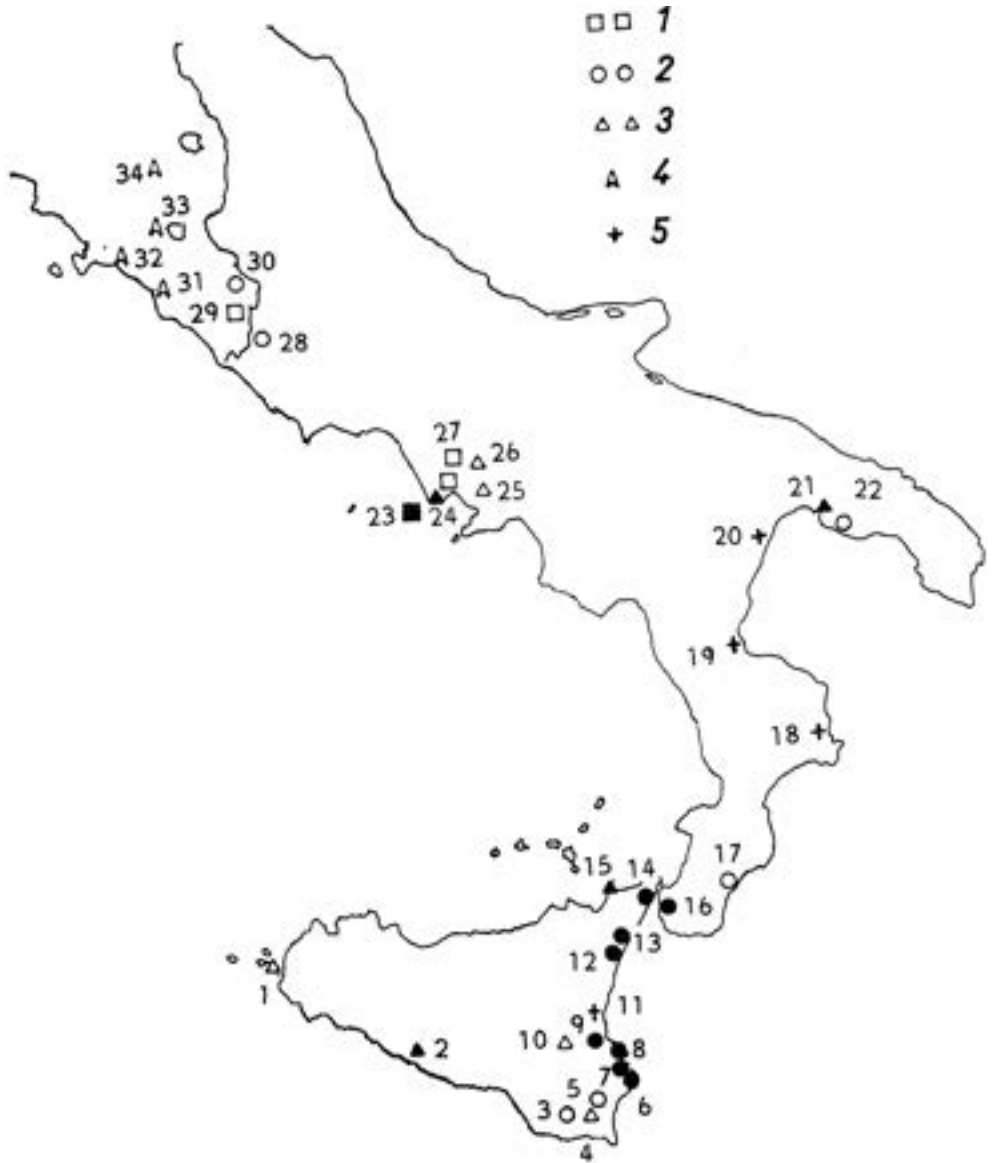


Fig. 78: South Italy and Sicily in 8th century BC. 1 Middle Geometric pottery, 2 Late Geometric, 3 Early Potocorinthian, 5 historically known colonies without safe finds of 8th century. Full symbols – Greek sites, empty – Italic and Phoenician sites. 1 Motya, 2 Gela, 3 Modica, 4 Finocchito, 5 Castellucchio, 6 Syracusae, 7 Thapsos, 8 Megara Hyblaea, 9 Leontinoi, 10 Ossini, 11 Catane, 12 Naxos, 13 Taormina, 14 Zancle, 15 Mylai, 16 Rhegion, 17 Canale, 18 Kroton, 19 Sybaris, 20 Metapont, 21 Tarent, 22 Leporano, 23 Pithekoussai, 24 Kyme, 25 Nola, 26 Suessula, 27 Capua, 28 Rome, 29 Vei, 30 Narce, 31 Tarquinia, 32 Vulci, 33 Bisenzio, 34 Chiusi. After HG.

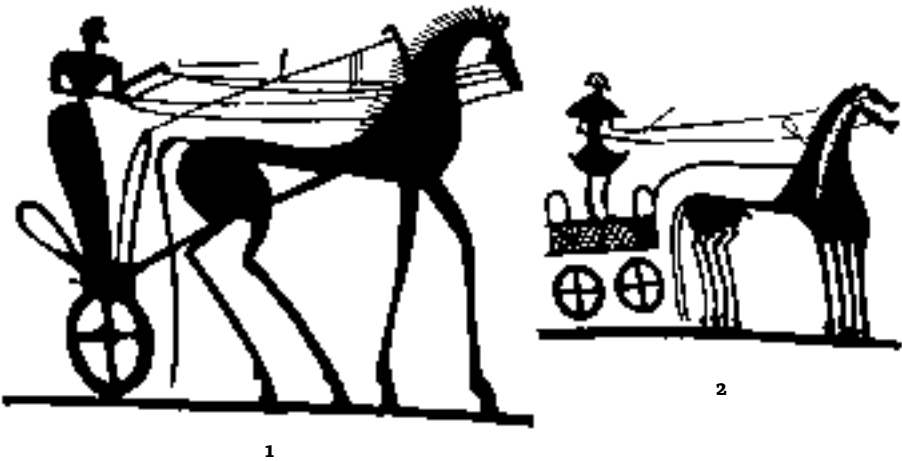


Fig. 79: Charioteers with one or two horses, Attic LG I B – II A, after HG.

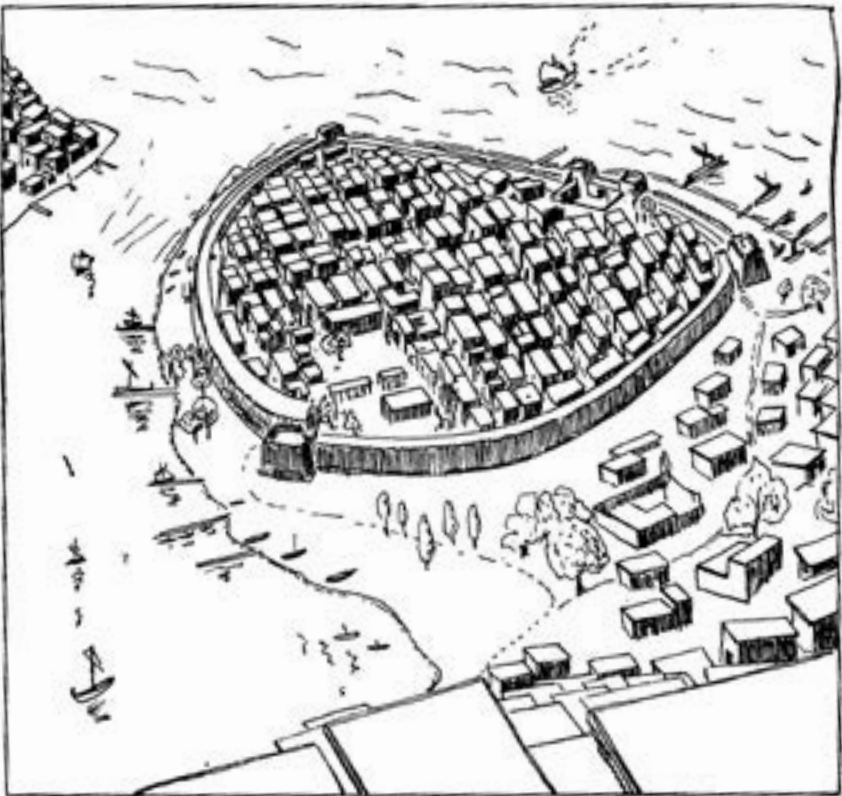


Fig. 80: Old Smyrna in 8th century BC. After Nicholls. and HG

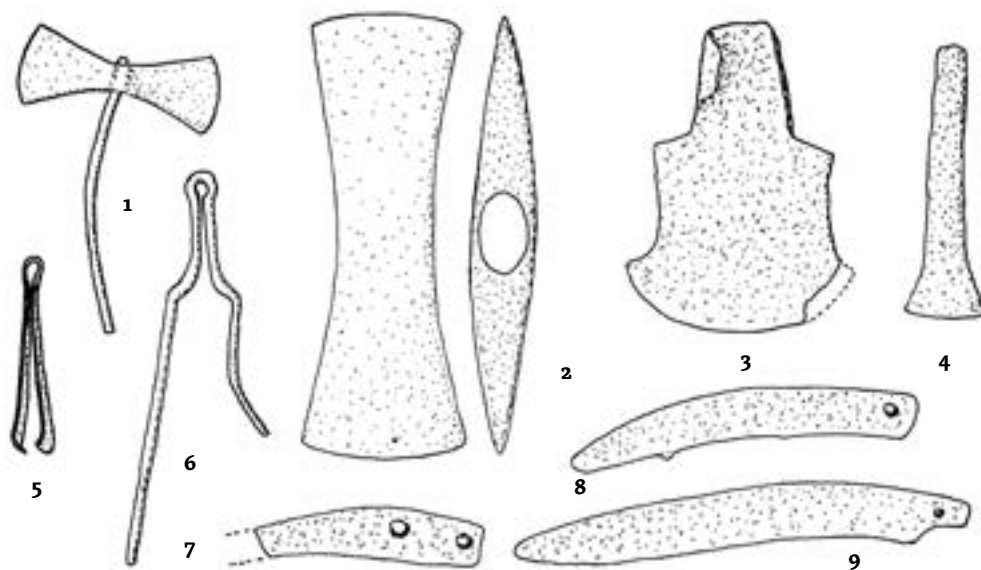


Fig. 81: 8th-7th century BC tools and implements. 1 Amyklai, 2 Athens, Acropolis, 3-9 Arkades, Crete. After HG.

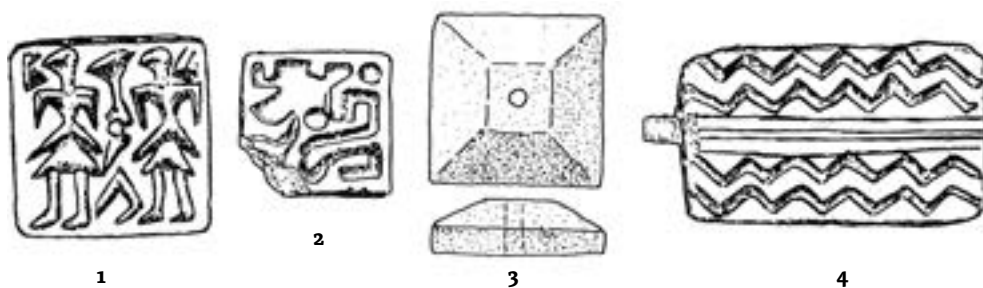


Fig. 82: Late Geometric gems. 1 Argive Heraeum, 2 Perachora, 3 Melos, 5 base of horse figurine from Argive Heraeum. After HG.

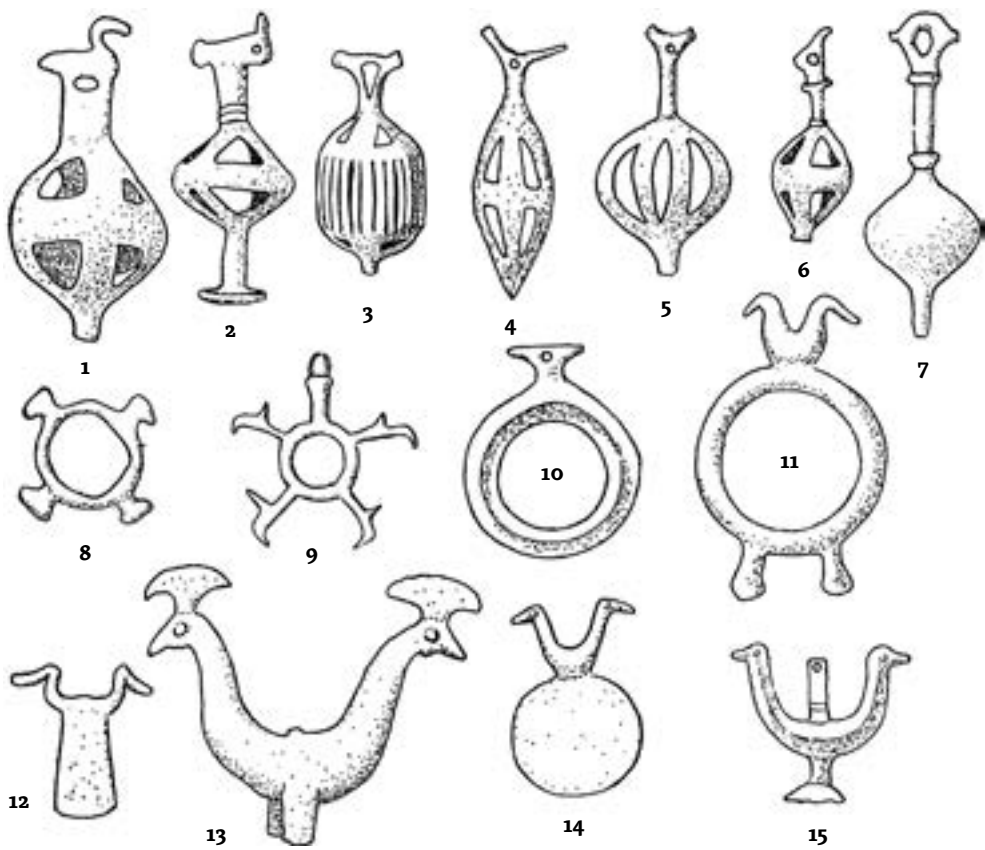


Fig. 83: Macedonian and North Greek pendants. 1 Aetos, Ithaca, 2–3 Olympia, 4–5, 8 Macedonia, 6–7 Chalcidice, 9–10, 15 Tegea, 11, 13–14 Pherai, 12 Dodona. After HG.



Fig. 84: Late Geometric I kantharos: birds and solar wheel. After GAE.

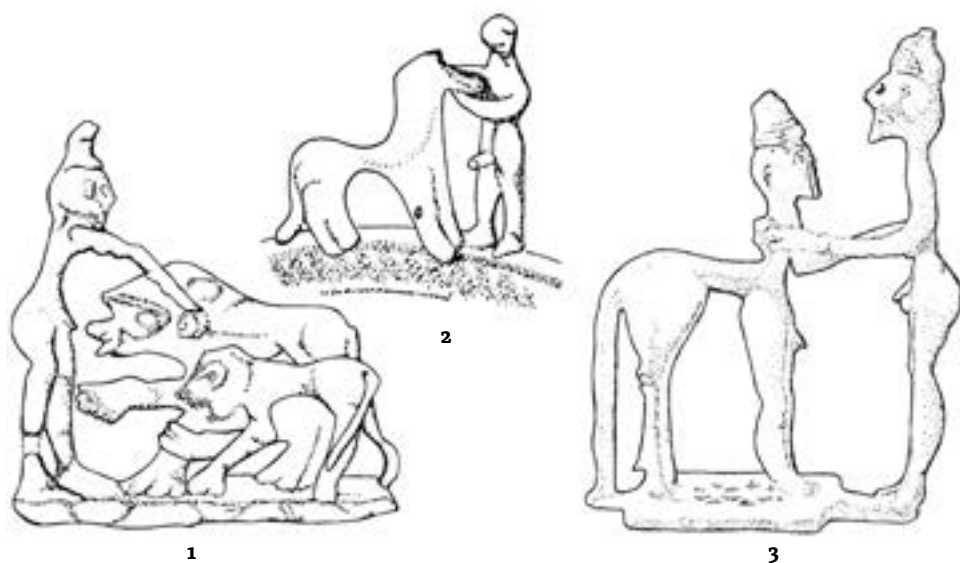


Fig. 85: Heracles and Centaur, Heracles and lion, man and horse, groups of Late Geometric figurines. After GAE.

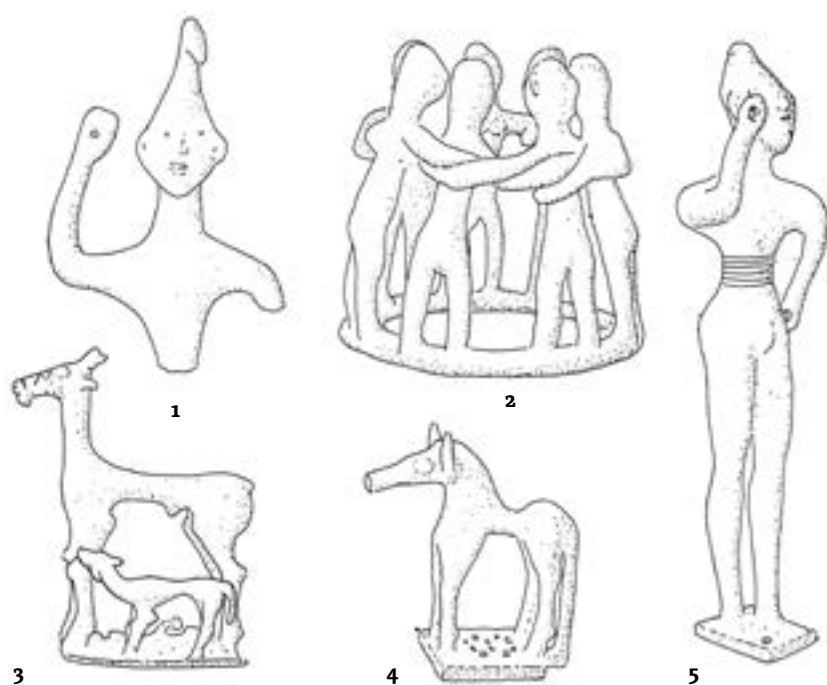


Fig. 86: Bronze figurines from Olympia. After Furtwängler.



Fig. 87: Odysseus on wreck on an Attic Late Geometric pitcher. After HG.



Fig. 88: Nestor in racing contest with twins Actorions/Molions on Attic LG I vase.

4.5 XOANA AND LACONIAN WOODEN SCULPTURE

The actual appearance of xoana, the slightly adapted tree trunk, and dressed in a real textile gown, is a matter of intensive discussions since the beginnings of Classical Archaeology. Crude wooden statues are known from peat bogs in Britain and Denmark (Bouzek 2000) and comparable clay figurines from Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972), LH III C Phylakopi (Renfrew et alii 1985) and in Central Europe (**figs. 37.4–6** and **89.2**; cf. here ch. 2.2). The Protogeometric bronze statuettes are also very similar, and as shown above for birds, Sparta conserved archaic traits more closely related to the art of prehistoric Europe than it was in other Greek poleis. The sophisticated level of wooden sculpture seems to be reflected by Late Geometric ivory figurines from the Dipylon cemetery and several small wooden statues from Samos and Sicily (GAE 140, 147, HG 184; cf. Rolley 1994; Donohue 1988, 12–16, 195–218; Bouzek 2000).

The Spartans were considered—partly correctly—as a community with no sense for finer arts, though this was not always so.⁷ Tyrtaios wrote for military education and warfare, Terpandros, Thaletas and Alkman for religious festivals and to deal with internal problems of the polis. But Pausanias knew one Spartan artist named Gitiadas, who became famous as an architect, sculptor and poet in one person. Very probably the artistic production known from Sparta in the 7th and 6th century BC was mainly in the hands of perioikoi, not in those of the full-right citizens, but the metoikoi or the non-Doric part of population in various Doric cities played the major role in artistic production almost everywhere, with only few exceptions. Certainly until c. 550 BC, Sparta could be measured in her artistic achievements as well comparable with other Greek centres. It was only after the Graeco-Persian wars that Sparta became a military garrison with few full-right citizens, fearful of possible rebellions. As Sparta had no great historians comparable to that of Thucydides, it became also too much an object of one-sided caricaturizing description of those, who were Spartan enemies (cf. Oliva 1971).

In the beginning Sparta was not entirely different from other Greek poleis. There was a Mycenaean palace below the Menelaion, lying east of Sparta, at the site well protected in antiquity by steep rocks and by the river. There may have been a kind of sanctuary of Helen and the Dioskouroi there already in the Dark Age, but the evidence is fairly slight, and perhaps only the ruins of the Mycenaean palace gave site to the legends and to the foundation of the sanctuary here in the late 7th century BC. The Amyklaion, lying some 5 km south of Sparta, was considered the main sanctuary of Laconia by Polybios (V,19). Not much has been preserved, but the architectonic remains date from

7 First part is a brief summary of a paper in Bouzek 2000, 109–113, the second part was first published in *Festschrift Frel, Eirene* 36, 36–42; cf. also Pipili 1991; Salapata 1993; Todd – Wace 1906.

the 6th century, and the description by Pausanias of the main architectonic monument as a kind of throne (XI, 2, 3) does not contradict this date; many finds from the Amyklaion, however, originate from the 7th century BC. The best known Archaic sanctuary of Sparta is that of Artemis Orthia, extensively examined by the British School (Dawkins et alii 1929).

Eleusinion, lying at the foot of the western mountain ridge of Taygetos, is only described by Pausanias (III, 20, 3–5); according to Herodotus (IV, 1), Minyans expelled from overseas settled there. The mythical tradition of the sanctuary of Demeter placed its origins in the Bronze Age, but the earliest finds from the site are Hellenistic.

The artistic level of Laconian pottery produced since the Late Geometric period was well comparable with that of other Greek centres, notably during the Archaic stage. Exports of Laconian pottery started in the late 7th century and continued until the middle of the 6th, but later faded off. This was due not only to the interior situation of Sparta, but equally to the superior quality of Attic products, which ousted also other Greek fabrics from the market (Stibbe 1996, 163–203, 1972, 1984, 1994).

The beginnings of the Laconian bronze sculpture show some types of Geometric animal figurines: horses and birds in the first place; the simple types often come near to woodcarvings (Bouzek 1967 and 1997a, 200.202). The small bronze sculpture is often of high quality, and several independent types evolved.

The Vix krater and its parallels from Trebenište stem from the Laconian artistic tradition, but were probably made in Magna Graecia (contra Stibbe 1996, 128–162, cf. esp. Rolley 1983 etc.). Croissant (1988, 150–166), who favours Corinth, shows certainly more distant parallels, but all schools in the Peloponnese must have been interrelated, and this is also true of Great Greece.

Two Laconian sculptors known to Pausanias, Ariston and Telestas, were bronziers (Paus. VI, 23, 7 mentions their statue of Zeus standing in the altis); the name of Telestas is engraved on one rim fragment of a bronze hydria. The piece dates from the beginnings of the 6th century, and the girl's head attached to the handle finds parallels, as Stibbe points out, both in the ivory heads found in the "Kroisos treasure" at Delphi and in the Hera head from Olympia (Stibbe 1996, 144–8).

Laconian ivories and bone carvings from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta (Dawkins a. o. 1929; Marangou 1969) belong to the best items of their kind we have from all Greek lands. Laconian carvings of the 7th and the first part of the 6th century offer the best preserved series in all Greece. The artistic level of the preserved monuments differs, but the best items, like Marangou 1969, fig. 30, no. 15 366 show real mastery, superior to many contemporary works from other parts of the Greek world.

Laconian stone reliefs and ivories show a particular iconography differing from other Greek landscapes. Artemis Orthia herself is best represented in the ivories from her sanctuary; of the Athena representations, the pallas type prevails (Pipili 1987, 41–43). Zeus is well represented on vases by the Laconian Naukratis painter (o. c. 46–8) and elsewhere; Poseidon is mainly known from lead figurines, while Apollo cannot be recognized in certainty, though some lyre-players may well represent this deity (Pipili 1987, 49–52). Dionysus and Hermes and Hephaistus are only occasionally represented.

Of the heroes, Dioskouroi were a popular pair in Laconia, having been born there (Pipili 1987, 54–58). Representations of the mighty Doric hero Heracles are more frequent than all other heroes, but Perseus with Gorgon, Bellerophon with Chimaira, the Kalydonian boar-hunt and the ambush of Troilos were popular subjects for Laconian vase painters as well, besides the story of the blinding of Polyphemus, and one cup bears the best-known representation of Prometheus in all Greek art.

Reliefs of dead heroes illustrate also Dionysus and Demeter, thus resembling the Egyptian tradition of Isis and Osiris as the divinities of resurrection; the famous pillar-shaped stele has usually be interpreted as Menelaos and Helen, but other suggestions have also been made (Pipili 1987, 30–31). One statue of a helmeted warrior from Samos is related to Spartan sculpture (Stibbe 1996, 234–240); one fragment of a statue has been reconstructed as bearing goddess helped by two small male figurines, Daktyloi or perhaps Dioskuroi (reconstruction Stibbe 1996, 245–253).

Of the stone sculpture, the famous Hera head from Olympia might well have been the work of a Laconian sculptor. It shows the features characteristic for woodcarving—flat relief tractation, respect for the characteristic inner structure of the wood. The same quality can also be observed in many Spartan reliefs (Hibler 1991, 1993; Lorenz 1991; Rolley 1994, 238–40). This is equally characteristic for Spartan ivories: carving in ivory was always near to woodcarving, especially hard wood.

Most of the reliefs in Sparta and in other museums (cf. esp. the pair in Berlin) shows a particular traits of execution: the outlines and the curves are not made by point after point, as is usual in working marble, but by long movements of the chisel: this is rather characteristic for woodcarving. Though a few parallels exist in Early Archaic art from other parts of Greece (e.g. the relief from Pythion in Thasos, Rolley 1994, 224 fig. 217), this particular technique was nowhere as common as in Laconia. Similarly the flatness of all protruding relief features, reminding one of the splitting of wooden planks, is more suited to woodcarving, and rare outside Laconia. The deep incuts of facial and other details remind one of the traces of knife incuts in woodcarving, too. Compared with the techniques used in other parts of Greece at the time, this particularity is striking, and cannot be explained by the particular-

ities of the local stone. The Spartan sculptors worked more often with wood, and some of their habits persisted when they worked with stone. Laconia had more forests on Taygetos and other mountains of the region than most of other Greek landscapes; this is still the case, and wood was apparently considerably cheaper than marble.

Pausanias mentions 6–8 Laconian sculptors who produced their works for Olympia (Stibbe 1996, 114–16), most of them of wood or chyselephantine (Doreikles, Medon, Theokles and his son, cf. Paus. V, 17, 1–2 for the Heraion, VI, 19, 8 for the Treasury of Epidamnians). Dantas produced oeuvres of cedar wood for the treasury of the Megarians: Heracles fighting Acheloos, Zeus, Deianeira and Atlas helping Acheloos (cf. Paus. VI, 19, 12 and 14).

According to Pausanias wooden sculpture seems to have been especially characteristic for the Laconian school, its sculptors were trained in wood-carvings and this would confirm the observation that Laconian sculpture in stone, as well as in bone and ivory, resemble in the style and execution technique of the main field of the traditional Spartan sculptural art, the wood-carving, even if it is until now lost to us. Perhaps some happy circumstances may help us to find at least some wooden sculpture in Laconia, as has already happened in Samos.

Of course the history of Laconian art is shorter than that of Athens, but not uninteresting in its specific traits. Still in the middle of the 5th century at least one sculptor existed in Sparta, whose works were found in Jeraki and in Neapolis Bion, in the south-eastern corner of Laconia. He followed the tradition of flat reliefs (it seems that he was also influenced by woodcarving, probably himself working in wood more often than in stone), but the stelae show a fine lyrical approach comparable to the great poets of his period (Stibbe 1996, 254–258, figs. 136–137).

In any case, the high mountains surrounding Sparta offered enough timber; wooden xoana were the first Greek statues everywhere (cf. Bouzek 2000). It was only natural that traditional Spartan artists first used wood when they sought the most useful material for their artistic efforts, and for their customers, who also apparently preferred less expensive monuments than the richer Greek poleis.

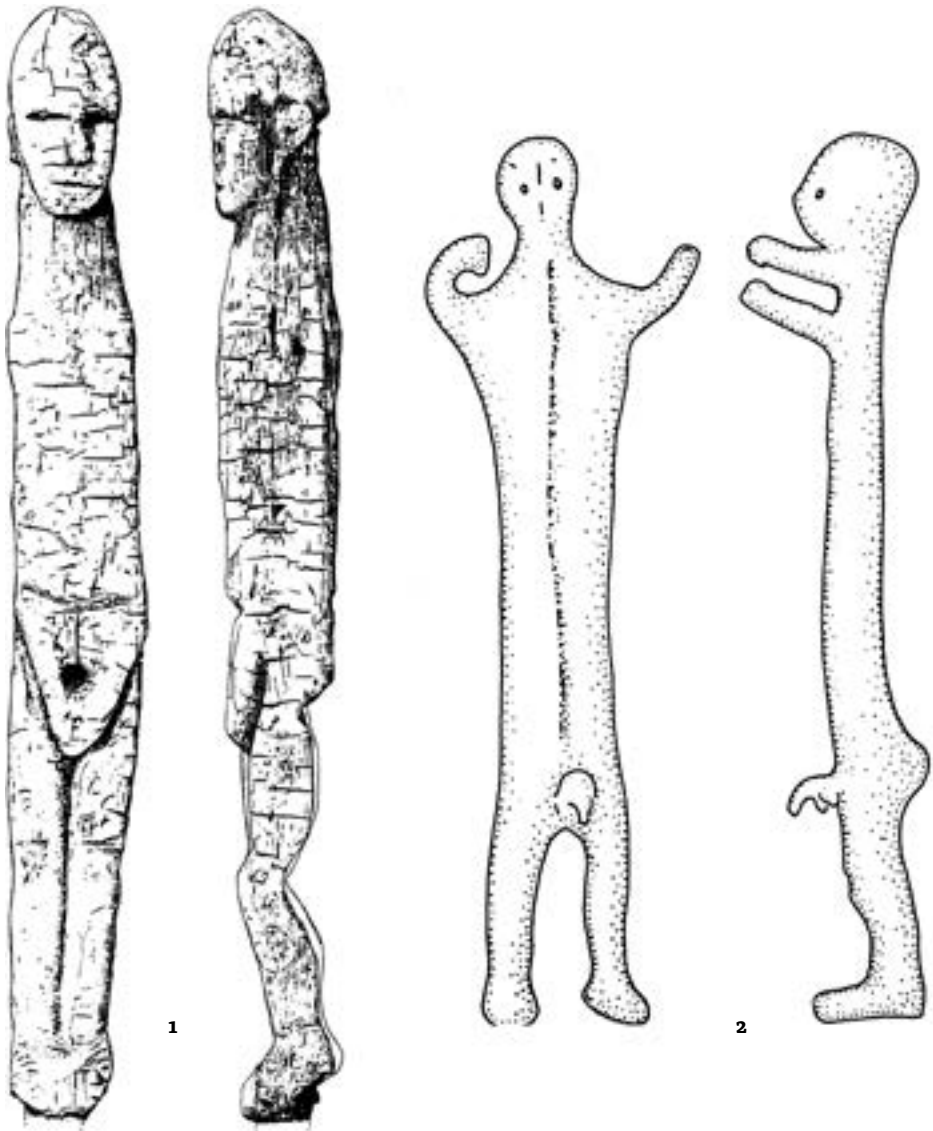


Fig. 89: 1 Ralagham, England, wood, 2 Phylacopi, clay. After Bouzek 2000, and Renfrew.

PART 5: HOMER AND ARCHAEOLOGY

5.1 HOMER—HOW HE PERCEIVED HIS REAL ENVIRONMENT

At least a small chapter must be devoted to Homeric poems and the Trojan War. Epic poetry existed in the Near East; the miniature fresco in Thera and the Pylos mural scene of a bard with an oversize flying bird are strong suggestions that it existed also in the Bronze Age Aegean.

The Epos volume (Aegaeum 28) was devoted to Bronze Age, and the original heroes had still something to do with the final stage of the Mycenaean period, but the Homeric poems were compiled later. The Trojan War was put by ancient authors to ca. 1200 BC, the most exact date given was 1183 BC. Homer should have been born 120 years after the Trojan War or 622 years before Xerxes' expedition to Greece, i.e. his life span would be approximately contemporary with that of the Lefkandi hero, whose *real* picture is well matched with Homer's descriptions. Very few pieces of weaponry in the Iliad, like the armour of Ajax, are still fully Mycenaean, other material items described there fit best into Early Protogeometric, i.e. one generation before Homer's own life-span. Ancient authors had more oral information to their disposal than we have, and a date suggested by most of them for the Trojan War and at least a Proto-Homer should be taken seriously (Nagy 2010). This was clear already after the famous book by H. Lorimer (1950) and confirmed later by the series *Archaeologia Homerica* and other monographs on this subject, like *Colloquium Rauricum* 2, 1991, K. Raddatz in *PWRE* 16 Hbb. etc (cf. Burkert 1985; 2009). Cf. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992; Boardman 2002; Hägg, ed. 1999.

Moses Finley (*The World of Odysseus*, 1954) described the society best fitting into 11th century BC, as it was mythologized by adding the memory in the sense of the *lieux et objets de mémoire* of P. Nora. Against the earlier myths on gods and even around Heracles, Trojan War is more rationalized, but Odyssey in the person of its hero is facing much irrational, too.

A strong possibility was opened by new Hittite sources that Homeric heroes had some historical models, as had the story of Late Bronze Age military expeditions; historical models of characters of early medieval poetry existed without any doubt. The Trojan War is a myth, but it would be strange if it had no background. Chanson de Roland developed on the base of the little important Roncevaux battle, the legends of King Arthur and his table,

of Percival etc. All may well have had some living models, so why not the Iliad and Odyssey as well? Some story told about Assyrian war machines (turtles, etc.), may have been behind the idea of Trojan wooden horse, but the ongoing discussion brought little new insights of importance.

A similarity between Geometric and Homeric description of human body was first observed by Bruno Snell (1950), but now we know similar figural representations from LH III C already (cf. Bouzek 2011d; Snodgrass 1998). The belly omitted in the drawings of figures is not mentioned with Homeric heroes either; only the hungry beggars at the court of Odysseus have bellies. More important persons are marked by a larger scale in visual art as with Homer. The structure of the Iliad was studied by many, but J. L. Myres (1932) and C. L. Whitman (1958, cf. also Whitley 1991) came from different angles to similar conclusions. The symmetrical patterns go beyond the triglyph-metopes scheme to more complicated systems, as for instance A-B-C-D-E-F-E-D-C-B-A. This was correctly seen as Late Geometric compositional motif, but it was known already to the Late Protogeometric Close Style.¹

Odyssey has slightly more Late PG elements than the Iliad, for ex. in the descriptions of the Phoenicians, but the difference does not go beyond one generation. The name Sidonians for the Phoenicians in the Odyssey would not be out of place. Even Egypt had some Dark Age, for a short time even Tyros, re-founded from Sidon, and the Neo-Hittite cities had also modest darker period in the 12th and 11th centuries.

Many scholars did not believe that oral poetry could be memorized by succeeding generations without script, but this argument does not stand any more, like e.g. Bhagavad Gita or some native eposes in Africa have shown. *Nibelungenlied*, *Chanson de Roland* and the stories on King Arthur's circular table, were recited long before being fixed literary, as was Beowulf and the Serbian legends as well.

Homer wrote for the Ionians and in the first phase probably for Aeolians, but Dorians are nearly absent. From all parts of the Trojan cycle only the two are exceptional masterpieces and their author genius, who was rather the founder of the Greek EIA renaissance than its result. His Homeric heroes of the Iliad could serve as models for self-projection to 8th century aristocrats, cunning Odysseus even to merchant ventures.

Sack of Troy supported the common Greek identity feeling: it was us who won against the bigger enemy in the East, acquired Trojan palladium and got final victory by truce. The core was the story of new intellectual capacity and new identity. Against the earlier mythology on acts of gods, Trojan War was rationalized mythology understandable to the public listening to Homer and

1 Cf. already the discussion with references Bouzek 1997a (GAE), 48–51, and especially the “Proto-Homer” discussion, p. 321. esp. with Schefold 1985.

his followers at their stage, but criticized by Socrates in Plato's *Ion* for lack of personal distanced approach.

5.2 REVIEWS

A. Gregory Nagy, *Homer the Preclassic*, University of California Press 2010.²

The book written by one of the leading scholars in this field brings an excellent survey of many aspects of Homeric studies, using very broad and multi-sided approach, but from the point of view of an archaeologist other aspects should be added to the evidence discussed in the book under review. Of the Part I (A preclassical Homer of the Dark Age), the chapters on Homer and the Athenian empire can be supplemented notably by analysis of Homeric scenes on Attic vases. First they propagate the aristocratic values and dignity of self-representation of the upper class. This aspect was stressed also at the period of Peisistratid tyranny, while at the time of Graeco-Persian wars the Trojans represented the Persian enemy and the fall of Troy the Greek victory over its mighty eastern neighbour.

Also other chapters of the first part (Homer outside his poetry, Homer and his genealogy, Homer in the Homeric *Odyssey*, Iliadic multiformalities) deserve some commentary based on the archaeological evidence. Old Smyrna and Kyme, the most canonical birth places of Homer and his wife, were originally Aeolian cities and there are problems in all preserved versions of his "biography", but the dates given do not contradict the archaeological picture (p. 141). According to the Aeolian version 130 years after Fall of Troy Aeolian cities were founded on Lesbos, 20 years later Kyme, then 18 years later Aeolians founded Smyrna and Homer was born, i.e. his birthday was 168 years after the capture of Troy, dated by this source 1270 BC. Herodotus believed that Homer and Hesiod lived 400 years before his own time—in 9th century BC and Aristarchus of Alexandria calculated birth of Homer 140 years after the fall of Troy.

Part II of the book is called "A preclassical Homer of the Bronze Age" and it is divided into six chapters: Variations on a theme of Homer, Conflicting claims on Homer, Homeric variations on a Theme of Empire, Further variations on a theme of Homer, Homer and the poetics in variation. Again archaeological sources are considered only exceptionally, and without detailed insight into the structure of available evidence. One example: on p. 310 a variety of crested helmets is held only for palatial, but LH III C warriors on the Warrior Vase still wore similar helmets with floating horsetail to frighten the enemy. The

2 First published here.

high esteem of pattern-weaving goes back to the Bronze Age (cf. pp. 278–285), but the importance of weaving patterns is especially typical for Geometric period, as shown by its pottery decoration which stems from textiles in its basic structure and composition.

It should be remembered, however, that the helmeted warriors and noble women on the frescoes in the palaces could be seen there until ca. 1200 BC, and that the Trojan War, respectively its original model for the poetry, must have preceded the 1200 BC destructions; the middle of the 13th century may fit best from the archaeological point of view. The story was gradually enlarged, blown up in time and exaggerations added, as it happened in the similar case of Roncevaux in *Chanson de Roland*. The volume closes with *Epilegomena* called “A preclassical text of Homer in the making.”

The author distinguishes in the language of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the first Aeolian version, the Ionian phase of Homeric tradition gradually enlarging and the later redaction, while he sees in the background of the *Urtext* also a few traits of the Mycenaean dialect. Similarly in archaeological evidence the overwhelming *realia* in the Homeric poems are of the 10th century, with some earlier relics and very few later additions. This was clear already after the analysis by H. L. Lorimer and was confirmed since by many others.³ The great Homer was preliterate performer, who created the best part of the Trojan cycle poems in a way much superior to the composers of *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, and other parts of the story.⁴

Homeric society is certainly an ideal picture, but the ideal picture was derived from something existing, as were *Chanson Roland* and *Nibelungenlied*. However, many analogies have shown that several levels of reality do exist, but most of the *realia* reflect the Early Dark Age, as known since Lorimer, Finley etc. The criticism now repeated again by A. Snodgrass does take in account the number of analogies, some of which may fit for other periods, too, but the complex can hardly be found anywhere else. Ancient Greeks believed that Homer lived in the 10th century BC or around 900 BC, and the progress made in the Dark Age archaeology only confirmed that not only the *realia*, but also the structure of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can also find parallels that early. If we look after parallels for the Greek Renaissance of the 8th century, we can remind us that e.g. Petrarca was earlier than quattrocento, and that the Early Medieval eposes had their models, and the first versions in the 6th–7th century AD. Perhaps the idea of a Proto-Homer may be the way out in the controversy.

3 Cf. Lorimer, H. L. 1950: *Homer and the Monuments*, London, and the series *Archaeologia Homerica*, Göttingen.

4 Cf. Bouzek, J. 2012: Three essays on Homeric Greece, *Studia Hercynia* 16/2, 2012, 62–65.

B. Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses. A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University 2008. Library of Congress Control Number 2007942538.⁵

The book is devoted to reflections of *Odyssey* in later periods. The first part deals with generic mutations of the story (Embarcation, Turning Phrases, Shape Sifting, Telling Tales and Singing Songs), the second analyses the changes of perceptions of Homeric World and society (Frontiers, Colonial conflict, Rite of Man, Women Work and Class Consciousness) and the third is devoted to Mind and Psyche area (Brain Power, Exile from Ithaca, Blood Bath, Sex and Sexuality, Dialogue with Death.) The volume contains many footnotes, exhaustive bibliography and a well organized index. But against the reviewer's expectations the book deals only marginally with the original narrative and structure of *Odyssey*, the questions dealing with historical and sociological stories of the time of origin of the poem are only slightly touched as are the problems of the change of identity at the dawn of the Iron Age, the way from myth to logos. The book deals with later perceptions, interpretations and adaptations of Homer's *Odyssey*. Most of it is devoted to modern times, though there are also comments on Roman approaches to *Odysseus* and his story, including a brief commentary on visual arts as well. The approaches taken in individual chapters show that the author in her approach was well balanced, avoiding extreme positions; she does not go the now fashionable way of shocking the reader with slogan-like formulations. The book shows how the story could be reinterpreted in many ways, how its motives could be transposed to support aesthetic, social and political views of the interpreters, including those of fashionable gender studies. In all parts of the books she has chosen to discuss rather interpretations and remakes of the story than translations of *Odyssey* in other languages, what also reflected the position of the translator and his or her cultural milieu.

The three parts bring interesting insights into the reflection: of stories, narratives, recite, singing in the first part, of politics and sociology in the second part, of state of mind in the third. So far so good, and the author can be congratulated especially for her analysis of the history of dramatic performances and theatre in the context of changing approaches and fashions in modern theatre performances; in this field her expertise is well-founded and especially competent. But of course—as symptomatic for our age—the problem is tackled mainly through the sources of the English-speaking milieu, less attention is given to cultural history of *Odyssey* in other languages. Several notes on modern Greek authors, however, are welcome, while the reflections of *Odyssey* in France and Germany, against earlier books on this

5 First published in *Ancient West and East* 12, 2013, 381–382.

subject, are limited. No attention is focused on the role of translations and adaptations of *Odyssey* into minor European languages, to whose formalisation Homer's translations of the 19th century essentially contributed, a.o. in Finnish and Icelandic. The community of the previous generation of intellectuals in Europe and America could more frequently read in several languages, and also use those languages for their study, but it has to be admitted that the author of the book under review is much better equipped in this field than most of her American contemporaries, among whose the new *lingua franca* seems to have largely ousted the more internationally based attitudes of the previous generations. The book under review shows less interest in what happened with *Odyssey* in other languages' novels, poetry and visual arts, but it must be stressed that in the field of theatre history, in which the author is apparently a very good expert, is tackled with deep knowledge even outside the English-speaking community, and analysed with high degree of competency. And the richness of reinterpretations of various aspects of *Odyssey*, notable in modern and post-modern times, in arts and philosophy as well, is fascinating.

PART 6: PHOENICIANS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the Iliad and the Odyssey, the Phoenicians are depicted as morally unclean, not only because they were not “us”, but because their habits showed the new qualities of the human mind born slightly later in Greece, qualities which tended to destroy the earlier aristocratic system of values of those to whom Homer recited his songs, of his audience. The merchants had to make their living by trade, not by receiving taxes and services from their clients as the aristocrats did, so that the aristocratic system of *keimelia*, gifts and exchange-gifts could not be used by them. Even if the Phoenicians obeyed their kings, they appear to have acted more independently in their enterprises. This seems to be reflected in the story of Solomon, describing the building of the temple and the expeditions (I. Kings 9. 27–28, 10, 22). The Phoenicians, like Hiram the Temple-builder, acted as men free to make their own decisions. On the way towards the emancipation of the individual from blood and pyramidal-state relations, the Phoenicians were the predecessors of the Greeks, though later surpassed by their pupils (cf. Niemeyer 1984; Celestino – Rafel – Amada, eds. 2008; Brandherm 2008).

Phonetic script created by Phoenicians, who developed entrepreneurial spirit of privately run sailing, connected both to trade and piracy, was an outcome of abstraction as well as progress in mathematics and astronomy. It liberated human mind from overloaded memory and it was an indispensable step of the progress in speculative philosophical thought.¹

1 The following part is compiled from three previous papers on this subject, with some additions: 1. Phéniciens en Mer Noir?, in *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques, Hommage à P. Alexandrescu*, Bucarest 2000, 134–137; 2. Phoenicians in the Black Sea II, *Il Mar Nero, Annali di archeologia e storia VIII*, Roma–Paris 2012, 125–132; 3. Phoenicians and Central Europe. In Gediga, B. – Piotrowski W., eds. 2010: *Rola głównych centrów kulturowych w kształtowaniu oblicza kulturowego Europy środkowej we wczesnych okresach epoki żelaza*, Biskupin–Wrocław, 27–40. Bouzek, J. 2011: *Prehistory of Europe as seen from its centre*, Prague.

6.2 PHOENICIANS IN THE BLACK SEA?

The large number of glass and faience beads in the North Pontic (Alexeeva 1975, 1978, 1982) posited since long this question, and the of syro-phoenician terracottas from Histria (Alexandrescu-Vianu 1994) with parallels from areas with Phoenician presence (Moscatti 1980, pls. XII–XIII) in the first volume of *Il Mar Nero* brought this question again in the centre of interest. It is generally known that the Phoenicians were predecessors of Greeks in the peripheral zones of the Mediterranean, in the Atlantique and the Red Sea (cf. Niemeyer 1984, 1995; Niemeyer, ed. 1982; Bouzek, *GAE* 1997, 160–167). Phoenician sanctuary was uncovered at Kommos in southern Crete (Shaw 1989). Phoenician presence in the Aegean during the Dark Age is known from the Homeric tradition (Il. XXIII, 741–745; Od. XIII, 271–786, XIX, 283–300, XV, 414–482) and confirmed by the broader archaeological evidence (Coldstream 1982). The famous Phoenician multi-coloured textiles (cf. Il. VI, 289–296) are unknown as yet, but they were reflected in Greek Orientalizing pottery and in Phoenician silver plate with engraved figures. Besides the tradition of Phoenician thalassocracy (here ch. 3.2), their presence in the Northern Aegean (for their gold mines on Thasos cf. Herod. II, 44) and in the Propontis is recorded by many. According to a legend Pronectus in Bithynia was founded by Phoenix or by the Phoenicians (Bunnens 1979, 360–365). Phoenicians are better known as merchants than as producers, and also for their religious activities (cf. Bonnet 1988, 378–380 for the sanctuary of Aphrodite Potnia on Kos, identified with Astarte marine and her partner Baal identified with Zeus Soter), already mentioned by M. Alexandrescu (1996, 139–140). The region of the Black Sea had important sources of metal ores, raw materials of essential importance in antiquity.

John Boardman (1991) refused the alleged provenance of Late Geometric sherds at Histria (against Alexandrescu 1990) and Berezan, while a few Cypriot White Painted and Black on Red sherds from Histria (Alexandrescu 1978, 63; Dimitriou 1978) cannot be dated with certainty before the second quarter of the 7th century, the period into which the first bird bowls and Middle White Goat I in the Black Sea belong (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 162–164; 2015; Tsetskhladze 2015), but the situation in the field of metal objects is different. The Lukaševka violin-bow and bow fibulae and the Hordeevka amber beads are linked to 11th–10th centuries BC Aegean, the Transcaucasian bow fibulae are closely similar to the insular type of Blinkenberg and those with triangular bowl in Transcaucasia resemble the Syrian variety, also known from the Phoenician settlements in Spain—cf. Curtis, ed. 1988 and G. Falsone (Falsone 1988a) in the same volume; Bouzek 1990a, 15; 1997b, 190; 2013c; 2012b; Tsetskhladze 2002; Martirosjan 1964, 276, pl. 207.4 and 109.1). From the Cypriot White Painted IV–V a specific class developed in Greek North Aegean and

Pontic colonies (cf. Robinson, *Olynthus V* 1933, Pls. 32–33; Panayotova 2005 for Apollonia Pontica, Bouzek 2013bc).

Production of glass beads in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea was inaugurated by the Phoenicians. Beads with composed eyes are common in the North Pontic region (Alekseeva 1975, 1978, 1982; Ščapova 1983, 97–118; Bouzek 1990a, 129; cf. also Venclová 1990, 45–127). The raw glass came from the Levant, some of the beads were imports, others from local workshops, but after Phoenician models. Phoenicians produced glass and faience on Rhodes (cf. Webb 1978) and elsewhere in Ionian cities. At the time of Great Colonisation the Greeks and Phoenicians could collaborate for profit at Pithekoussai and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean. In Sicily they did not like to fight with the Greeks and withdraw to the western part of the island (Thuc. VII, 1–3). During Persian occupation of Thrace and during the Peloponnesian War the Bosphorus Straits were easier available to Phoenician ships than to Athenians. Their network consisted from small stations with magazines and sanctuaries mainly, rarely from larger colonies (cf. Mielke – Tappert 1997).

Sanctuaries of Aphrodite in the East Aegean and in the Pontic area, as in Histria and perhaps Orgame (cf. V. Lungu, P. Hermary in the Istanbul Pontic Congress—Hermary 2009; Lungu 2009), seem to have been a kind of “cultural centres” of the Phoenicians and other Cypriots, who lived in these places or visited them frequently. Even if Cypriot figurines appear also in other sanctuaries, they are most characteristic just for those of Aphrodite–Astarte (Karageorghis – Kouka, eds. 2009). Their products found their markets even in areas situated more inland towards north and north-west.

6.3 PHOENICIAN MERCHANT VENTURES IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

First we should remember that some relations of the Levant with Central Europe were also transmitted by the Philistines, who settled in Palestine. They were probably of European origin; Goliath still wore the Central European metal sheet armour. As believed by some, the Dan in northern Palestine may also have been descendants of the Sea Peoples. There are, however, reports and documents of Levantine and Phoenician activities in other parts of Europe during the Early Iron Age. The Phoenicians had, similarly as the Hebrews, no Dark Age between the Bronze and Iron Age like the Greeks. In the maritime adventures they much surpassed the Greeks. Their settlements in the Mediterranean and beyond preceded the Greek colonisation (cf. Niemeyer 1984, Niemeyer, ed. 1982; Bouzek 1997a,

160–167; for the new higher dates by C14 Brandkerm 2008, for evidence in Portugal Mayet – Tanares de Silva et alii 2000). Their ships sailed also along the African and European shores of the Atlantic Ocean, as well as in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The foundation of their trade stations in the West Mediterranean and beyond are dated historically around 1100 BC or even slightly earlier. Their ships were also serving King Salomon for transports of metals from the land Ophir in South Arabian peninsula, and from Tarshish in Spain behind the columns of Heracles (I. Kings, 9, 27–28, 10, 22). Mogadir on the Atlantic coast of Morocco was according to the tradition founded already in the 12th century, similarly as some other emporia in the west (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 160–168). The Phoenicians had similar mercantile stations and later cities in Sardinia, Sicily, Balearic Islands, in Spain and Portugal (Celestino – Rafel – Amada, eds. 2008). Homeric poems describe Phoenicians as excellent sailors and merchants (Il. XXIII, 741–45; Od. XIII, 271–286, XIV, 283–300, XV, 414–482). From Herodotus, Odyssey and other written sources is known that the main interests of Phoenician activities were rare metals, and British tin is typical for their focus of interest; gold, silver and even amber were commodities much in demand.

Among the earliest material documents of their presence in the west are the figurines of the Smiting God, so called Reshef figurines (Seeden 1980). Similar figurines, however, have been found also in Šernai near Klaipeda in Lithuania, and imitation of the type in Sweden, while a related earlier figurine of female charioteer was found in Bohemia (Bouzek 1985, 69–70). Phoenicians—with the only exception of Carthage—did not create mighty powers and their penetration was more based on private initiative in the Early Iron Age than community-based as was in the case of Greek colonisation (cf. Niemeyer 1984, 1995, 2003). Many Phoenicians settled as *metoikoi* in Etruria; the Etruscans closed with Carthaginians an alliance which was only abandoned when Etruria came under the rule of Rome.

PHOENICIANS AS GLASS MAKERS

The Uluburun shipwreck yielded glass ingots of probably Levantine origin (Nicholson 1997). Large part of the raw glass known from Late Bronze Age settlement at Frattesina in North Italy is of Levantine origin (Bietti Sestieri 1984ab; Brill 1992; Henderson 1988), as are many beads found in Hauterive-Champréveyères in Switzerland and in Stadthallendorf in Germany dating from Late Urnfield period, i.e. from the 10th to 9th centuries BC (Ha B 2–3, Henderson 1993; Lorenz 2006), and also those from Rathgall in Britain of the 9th century BC (mentioned by Brill 1992). Apparently even the technique of producing beads was brought with the raw material, and used also by their pupils according to the Phoenician recipes. The Dark Age glass beads in Greece

and Italy are also in all probability Phoenician products and brought to their destinations by Phoenician merchants. The same concerns the Early Iron Age scarabs found in the Adriatic and in Serbia (Bouzek 1997a, 228, fig. 277 Pilatovići-Trnjaci; Bouzek 2000b).

The Urnfield glass beads found in Bohemia were analysed as identical with those from Frattesina (Venclová et al. 2011). The raw glass from Frattesina in North Italy, and that used for beads from Swiss palafitti and German Urnfield period hoards are similar; their production was probably inspired from the Levant and was probably introduced by the Phoenicians, who stood behind their technology, know-how. Phoenician commercial activities in marginal regions surpassed those by the Greeks and Etruscans and their impact even on Central European region deserves more attention.

In the Hallstatt Age beads with eyes, multiple eyes etc. are all of the Phoenician designs, and some of them—very probably—even Phoenician imports (**figs. 90–91**). In any case they are originally designed by Phoenician masters who very probably also founded the secondary centres. Though most of the beads found were not made by Phoenician masters themselves, the spirit of their craftsmanship remained; their technology was also applied in the production of La Tène large beads and bracelets.

Through Etruria the Phoenician merchants, eventually their agents, probably also penetrated into Central Europe, while one of their glass-making centres was in Etruria. The green translucent beads found at Býčí skála are very rare in Central Europe; they came probably from Italy, being very common in 8th–7th century Etruscan graves (Haevernick 1979, cf. Venclová 1990, 50 type 123; cf. Haevernick et alii 1983, 1987). The glass beads found at Závist (**pl. A 7.1–2**) may also have come from Italy. Other glass-producing centres of the Hallstatt period existed in the area of *Caput Adriae*, in southern France and Spain and one also in the Northern Black Sea (Haevernick-Kunter 1995; Venclová 1990, Bouzek 1997a, 236f., cf. figs. 90–91). The masque beads, of their eastern or/and western variety, may well have been a source of inspiration for masques on Early Celtic fibulae and other objects (Karwowski 2005). Later masque beads in Slovenia (**pl. A 7.4**) and in Balkan La Tène contexts (**fig. 92**) also derive finally from the Phoenician class (Karwowski 2005; cf. Alexeeva 1975, 1978, 1982; Ščapova 1983; Bouzek 2000b).

The maps of distribution of specific varieties show the preference of individual variants in specific areas. From these centres, secondary centres of glass production emerged later more in the north. Certainly not all glass beads and other objects were made by the Phoenicians only, but it was their ideas, their spirit, which stood behind the technology and partly also their raw material (Wells 1980; Vagnetti 2000).

6th–5th century vessels of sand-core glass, finished by grinding, are known also from Central Europe, a. o. from South Bohemia. The fragment

of blue glass with multicoloured threads from Strakonice is of originally Greek shape, but was apparently made in Phoenician workshop in Rhodes. (Michálek 1991; Michálek – Venclová 1992; **pl. A 7.5**). Phoenician metoikoi in Rhodes are attested also by their inscriptions and graffiti until the Hellenistic times. They also produced faience (**fig. 93**; Webb 1978).

Cypriots and Phoenicians had much in common already in 11th century (cf. Karageorghis, ed. 1994).

Their pottery was rather unattractive and not much exported, but the 4th century pottery imitating Cypriot models from Macedonia and Black Sea could not have been made without a Cypriot inspiration (Panayotova 2005). The Phoenician Hellenistic aryballoi in the Black Sea (Lungu 2007) show that contacts with the Levant existed even during the Hellenistic age. Glass and faience were specific domains of the Phoenician metoikoi everywhere in the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea area was no exception; especially the Bosporean kingdom had a large industry producing glass beads and faience pendants after Phoenician models (cf. Alexeeva 1975, 1978, 1982; Šcapova 1983; Bouzek 2000).

Phoenicians—with the only one exception of Carthage—did not create mighty powers and their penetration was more based on private initiative in the Early Iron Age than community-based as was in the case of Greek colonisation (cf. Niemeyer 1984, 1995, 2003). Their cities in Phoenicia were usually under some protectorate of their mightier neighbours, in the Early Iron Age mainly Assyrians. Many Phoenicians settled as metoikoi in Etruria and also produced glass; with the Etruscans they closed an alliance which was only abandoned when Etruria came under the rule of Rome.

The Syrian bronze situla found at Bavaria (Mielke – Tappert 1997) was also probably made in the Levant.

From Greek authors we know that Phoenicians were mainly interested in metals, the most important commodities of antiquity. Herodotus (III, 114–115) mentions in one sentence gold, tin and amber as the three main substances coming from the north. In the 5th century, when the eastern branch of the Amber Route was closed, Bohemia was especially important as a link in amber trade. It had enough gold in its rivers and perhaps some tin available, too. In this case, it would be the last mention of Bohemian tin, important commodity during the Bronze Age and also in the Middle Ages.

Not only Etruscans and Greeks, also Phoenicians were involved in the trade with the margins of that-time known world. Their glass beads penetrated much deeper in the continental Europe than any other imported Mediterranean objects and/or their imitations. At any case, Phoenicians cannot be omitted when the southern influences in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Europe are discussed.

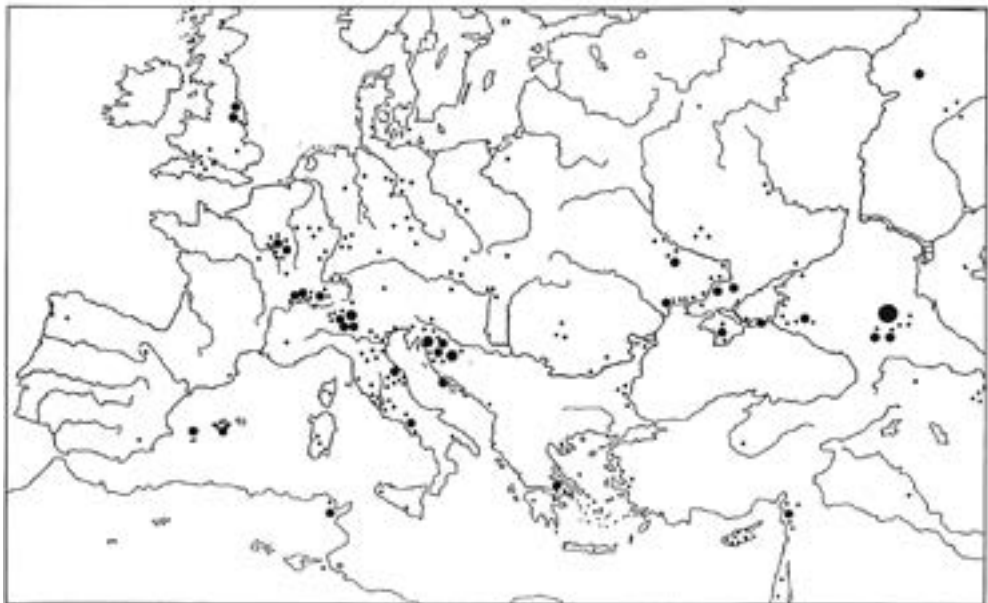


Fig. 90: Distribution of Phoenician beads with multiple eyes and their imitations in Europe and the Mediterranean (after Haevernick – Kunter 1995).

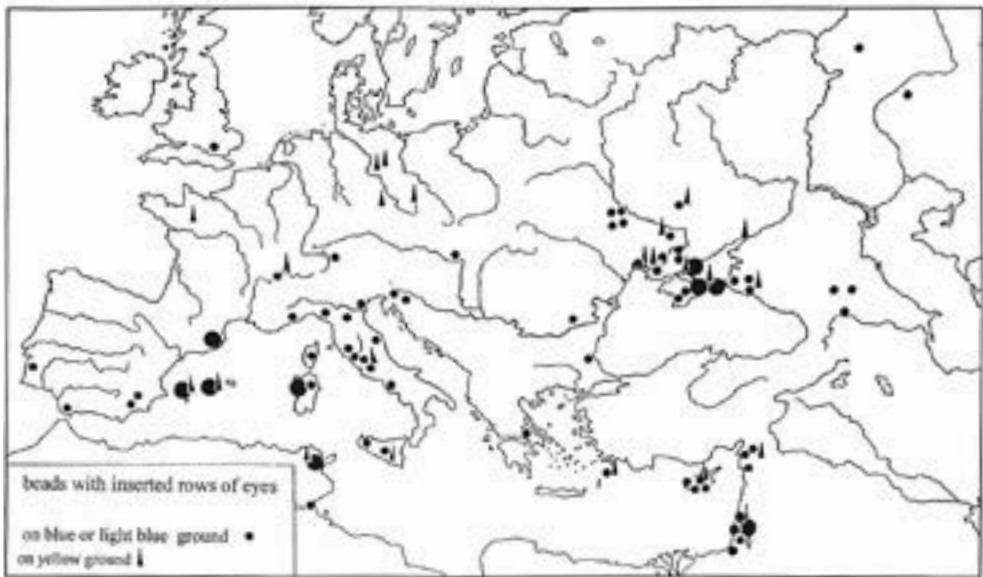


Fig. 91: Distribution of Phoenician beads with inserted eyes and their imitations in the Mediterranean and in Europe (after Haevernick- Kunter 1995). Rings—on blue or light blue ground, triangles—on yellow ground.



Fig. 92: Fragment of glass from Strakonice, after Michálek – Venclová 1992.

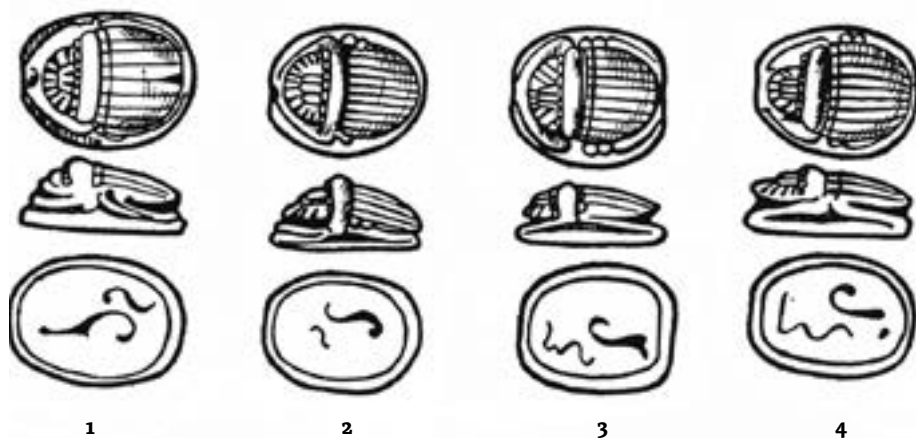


Fig. 93: Faience scarabs from Panticapaeum. After Alexeeva.

PART 7: MACEDONIAN BRONZES

7.1 MACEDONIAN BRONZES IN ITALY (=MB VI)

Many Macedonian bronzes from of 8th–7th centuries arrived into Greek sanctuaries as *ex vota*, and they also inspired the production of similar items in Thessalian, Boeotian and Peloponnesian workshops, but also the production in the western Balkans, with exports to Bosnia, Serbia and even Hungary; other beads and pendants were found in Greek colonies in Libya and in Carthage. The genuine Macedonian beads in Italy are in graves mainly as single pieces, not as many as usual for heavy necklaces in Macedonia; this is typical elsewhere, along the periphery of their distribution (Bouzek 1989).¹

Among Macedonian bronzes in Italy three groups of imported pendants, beads, etc. can be distinguished, besides local imitations. The earliest imports date from the second half of the 8th century; they are known from Pithekoussai and Cumae. The Pithekoussai graves with Macedonian bronzes date from Late Geometric II; the juglet from Cumae came from a grave dated ca. 725 BC; thus in both colonies the early stage of Macedonian bronzes is better dated than in most Greek sanctuaries (cf. AAE 110–111).

Of particular interest are the in Pithekoussai I published contexts. One of amulets (juglet) was in grave of a lady of ripe age, one bird pendant in grave of a young boy, and other similar items had also a 15 years old girl. The earliest Macedonian bronzes from Cumae are of the same horizon as the Pithekoussai series, but anthropological analysis is lacking (cf. AAE 110–112).

In Pithekoussai the Greek identity did not play a decisive role; Phoenicians and Syrians lived there together with the Greeks. If the modern historians the ethnicity stressed, it was more based on Thucydides report on Sicily, where the Phoenicians preferred not to fight and let the Greeks to settle in the south-east of the island (Thuc. VI, 2–3). Macedonian bronze talismans in Cumae and Pithekoussai show that this category was available in Sicily in a way comparable to Egyptian scarabs and Syrian gems.

1 First published as: Makedonische Bronzen in Italien, in *Akten des Symposions Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer, Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen*, 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr., Wien 1999 (2000), eds. V. Gassner, M. Kerschner, U. Muss, G. Wlach, 363–369.

Nicolas Coldstream (1993) analyzed the Pithekoussai bronze ornaments and came to the conclusion that most of them were found in graves of Italic women, married the Greek colonists. Even is some amulets even men wore, their majority was female jewellery. It is probable that women took part in the colonial expeditions. About Sappho is reported that she travelled several times, and some of women who died in the colonies may have come from Chalcidice, the area where the “Macedonian” bronzes were made. The Chalcidian colonies in Chalcidice were neighbours of the area of production of Macedonian bronzes, including the inland living Chalcidians (Hammond 1995; Snodgrass 1994). Cf. elsewhere Bouzek 1997c.

The second group of imports of Macedonian bronzes belong to middle and late phases; they are mainly known from Sicily. They came from sanctuaries and graves; some of them are imports, the remaining close copies of Macedonian models (cf. Pingel 1980).

In some sanctuaries, notably at the temple of Demeter Malophoros in Selinus, have been found as *ex-vota* bronzes coming from Thessaly and Macedonia. This situation resembles similar finds in Greek sanctuaries in Ionia, where similar items are represented, too (cf. Bouzek 1974b, 300–305 and Kilian 1985, Pingel 1980, 170–173, for Ephesus Klebinder 2000). These decorative and talismanic objects were also memories of the donors, presented either by Greek colonists, or by *metoiks* living in them.

Of the Sicilian graves with Macedonian bronzes the Grave 660 of Megara Hyblaea contained a rich set of Macedonian bronzes; in other graves only beads or other single pieces, perhaps of talismanic value, were offered. The graves at Megara Hyblaea are known from descriptions. The dead were buried in sarcophagi, the dedications to the deceased included fine Greek pottery; they were representing the local upper class (cf. the list below). The dating of grave 660 is uncertain, the grave context cannot be reconstructed safely, but the dating into the third quarter of the 7th century is the most probable (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 111). Other graves of Megara Hyblaea with late Macedonian bronzes contained Greek 7th century pottery, too. In the case of Grave 660 the set of ornaments suggests that the deceased was a missionary of her sect from Macedonia or her daughter (**fig. 94** above). The isolated ornaments from other graves may have had a talismanic value for their masters; they were in similar position also when dedicated to the sanctuary, and were probably free accessible in the market (cf. Hodos 1999).

In Sicily there are relatively common locally made bronze beads similar to Macedonian, but also to those in the Corinthian sphere produced forms; this concerns notably two varieties of beads and also the local variety of peacock. Syracuseae may have played a substantial role in the distribution of Macedonian and related bronzes in Sicily.

But the commonest variety of bronze beads is longer and without collars on the ends. They belong to usual ornaments on Siculan necropoleis, even if inspired from Macedonian models. Two varieties can be distinguished, (MB = Bouzek 1974a, 105 group C 2, p. 119 group L), and both show only distant relation to the “genuine” Macedonian bronzes, which are represented in Sicily in Greek graves mainly but even in the graves of the local Siculi (Bouzek 1974b, 306, 1989; Pingel 1980).

Thessaly and the neighbouring Macedonia were considered homeland of witches and sorcerers: The Thessalian witches were famous in Greece. Much in the Macedonian bronzes is similar to the Caucasian and Cimmerian symbolic objects and their parallels are even recently used by shamans paraphernalia (Bouzek 1974b, 326–335, cf. Bouzek 1997a, 187–207). The magic connotations of Macedonian and related objects are reflected also in jewellery in the Balkans in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods (Bouzek – Ondřejová 1991). Even in recent Caucasian folklore there are traces of similar beliefs. It is probable that these objects: pendants, beads, small vessels, had also in Sicily the significance of magic amulets, a belief which could easily be understood by the broad public (**pl. B 4, 1–3**).

The fragment of pyxis pendant from Vei belongs to a type of advanced 7th century. With its unique appearance in Etruria there is difficult to find out how it arrived there, but the existence of the Macedonian-related bronzes in Albania, Serbia and Bosnia, even in Dalmatia (Bouzek 1974b, 295–297), and the links between Dalmatia and Picenum, may suggest the possible way how the Macedonian pendant arrived at Vei. Maybe that even the similarity of a group of amber figurines with the drinkers on “jug-stoppers” is not accidental. Their shape remembers the faience “monkeys” (Langdon 1990; Voyatzis 1990, 110–115), but already Karl Scheffold called them rightfully kobolds, wilder relatives of Greek Satyrs (cf. Bouzek 1974a, 79–80; 1997, 144); they are known in Etruria, too. The pendant in shape of tree trunk with short branches and the drinker on its top seems to represent the shaman climbing the tree (**pl. B 4.1–3**). The possible relation between Etruscan miniature pitchers, which sometimes Turan holds, with Macedonian juglets, is questionable (Bouzek 1980, 67–69), but both contained some organic substance and were worn around the neck as part of heavy necklace.

LIST OF MACEDONIAN AND RELATED BRONZES IN MAGNA GRAECIA

CUMAE

Grave 16. E. Gábrici, *Mon. Ant.* 22 1913, 226–229, Group A juglet with pottery around the transition from Late Geometric to Early Protocorinthian. Cf. also Pingel 1980, 168.

Cemetery, no context: E. Gábrici, *Mon. Ant.* 22, 1913, 74, fig. 21; cf. also fig. 20—horse. Bird belongs to periphery types of Macedonian bronzes (cf. Bouzek 1974a, 16 group C 3, fig. 2), but the horses (*tre cavallini*, only one illustrated) represent changes of the class of the MB-tradition, which were made in the Adriatic area along the northern frontier of the distribution of MB. The pendants on fig. 34 (col. 89–90) are similar periphery varieties of originally Macedonian class (globular pendants, long beads, cf. also the globular pendants and long beads, esp. the bead fig. 35). The bird pendant col. 88 pl. XXV: 4 should also be mentioned; it attests also some relations with the Adriatic region.

FINOCHITÒ

Grave 7, 22, 30 (with two fibulae a navicella) and 41, BPI 20, 1894, 39f., 45–48, pl. 4. Beads B 2,2–4 and L 3.

MEGARA HYBLAEA

Grave 239: Double interment in sarcophagus, grown person and baby. P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* I 1889, 888–889, Bronze bead Bouzek 1974a, type M 2, fig. 37: 13, with Early Corinthian pottery from the end of the 6th century.

Grave 240. Two skeletons in small sarcophagus. P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* I, 1889, 889–890, fig. 1. Long bead type L, of three items one illustrated. Bouzek 1974a, 119 fig. 37:5.

Grave 660. P. Orsi, *Not. Sc.* 1892, 173; W. Pingel, *Marb. WPr.* 1971, 7 ff., fig. 6. Bouzek 1974b, 306, fig. 53:3–7; Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, pl. I and II:1. Pingel 1980, 166, fig. 1:1–5. Late Protocorinthian alabastron after Pingel 1980, 166 does not belong here, but the local kylix and the rippled alabastron from the second half of the 7th century. Bird of type A 6,4 and peacock B 1, 3, wheel type B 1,1 wheel pendant and pin.

Grave 69, *Mon. Ant.* I 1889, col. 827–828, fig. Pendant, similar to Macedonian beads.

From the necropolis. Bird pendant P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* I, 1892, 910, fig. Bouzek 1967, 128, fig. 6:12; 1974a, type A 6, 3, fig. 1:11.

Mulino dell' Badia, Mus. Syracuse, Siculan necropolis, Pingel 1980, 166, fig. 1:12, 168. Bead type F.

Monte San Mauro, Mus. Syracuse, Grave of the colonizing period. Pingel 1980, 166, fig. 1:13, 168. Openwork roundel.

Pithekoussai, female grave T 208. Buchner – Ridgeway 1993, 264–267 and 77ff., taf. 91:24 and CXXVI: 24. SG II, 725–700 v. Chr. Juglet group A.

Grave of a youth T 329. Buchner – Ridgeway 1993, 386–387, taf. 126:4 und CLVI: 4. SG II, 725–700 BC. Bird group A.

Girl grave T 544. Buchner – Ridgeway 1993, 537–539, pl. 160:13–14 and CLXXI: 13, 14–15. Bulla-shaped pendant, perhaps related to Macedonian spool pendants (Bouzek 1974a, 94), and bell with incuts, reminding one of Caucasian, dating similar to previous.

Selinus, Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros. One genuine Macedonian bead; two pendants probably imitations, but very near to genuine. E. Gábrici, *Mon. Ant.* 32, 1927, 358–363, fig. 154e, bead G 11, fig. 155 p and q globular pendants B 3, 1 and C 2, 1. Bouzek 1974a, figs. 15:9, 17:6 and 36:3. Roundel with cuts, Gábrici Abb. 154 n., Pingel 1980, 166 fig. 1: 7–9.

Syracusae, Athenaion. P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* 25, 1918, 578, fig. 164. Beads B 2, 1 and L 1, Bouzek 1974b, fig. 11.

Tremenzano, cemetery. BPI 18 1892, 87, taf. 6–7. 21. Bronze beads Bouzek 1974a, 105, List B 2,5.

7.2 MACEDONIAN BRONZES—30 YEARS LATER²

The Macedonian bronzes were my subject of study in the sixties and early seventies of the last century,³ but new discoveries and publications, especially those made in the Republic of Macedonia, much enlarged our knowledge. The publication of the Dedeli cemetery by D. Mitrevski, a series of articles in *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* and the exhibition in Skopje organized by Zlato Videski in 2004 brought much new essential information. Much work has also been done in Albania on the other side of the Preshpan lake, notably at Kuç i Zi, and in Greek Central, Western and Eastern Macedonia. All this gives enough reasons to return to this subject in the *Festschrift* of my old friend Prof. Bitrakova, who helped me to improve my understanding of the archaeology of her country, especially in the area of the Preshpan and Ohrid lakes, one of the main homelands of Macedonian bronzes (cf. esp. Bitrakova-Grozdanova, 1986; 1995, 53–60). New important finds are also known from

2 First published in: *Folia Archaeologica Balcanica* I, in honorem V. Bitrakova-Grozdanova, Skopje 2006, 97–110.

3 *MB I–VII*. Cf. Bailey 1969.

Asia Minor (esp. Ephesus) and from Western Greece and the books by D. Mitrevski and E. Petkova have outlined the general picture of the Early Iron Age in the Republic of Macedonia (Mitrevski 1997; Petrova 1996).

The aim of this contribution is to improve the picture of relations of this group of ornaments with other areas of Early Iron Age Europe, including Greece, and its impact. The position of Macedonian bronzes documenting relations along the Axios valley between south and north is central, especially as they are autonomous artistic creations of their own, even if inspired from several more or less distant roots.

Some forerunners of the canonical bronzes exist in biconical beads from Greece⁴ and in the Vitsa grave 113 pyxis (Vokotopoulou 1986, 151–7, pls. 243–245; MB VI, 60); all still of a 9th century BC date, but the origins of the canonical bronzes can best be placed in the earlier part of the 8th century (MB IV, 41, MB V, 48–49). The main reasons for this date have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere⁵ and have corrected the originally slightly lower chronology in MB I, 163–168. The main arguments are some finds in Macedonian graves in early 8th century BC and the raising of European Ha B chronology. It should, however, be remembered that the majority of graves known as yet date only from late 8th and 7th century BC (**figs. 95–96**).

The main sources of inspiration of Macedonian bronzes can still be seen in the North Caucasian area (Kuban group); this phenomenon can probably be connected with the alliance of Thracian Edoni and Cimmerians recorded by Strabo (Strabo C 329, fr. 11, cf. MB III, 42–45 and MB IV, 45). The recent Caucasian chronology leaves enough time for an earlier dating of some parallel objects in the Caucasus area, and the earliest so-called Cimmerian bronzes in the eastern part of Central Europe and the Balkans are now dated in the (early) 9th century BC (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 197–199).

The Macedonian bronzes developed from traditions connected with horse harness and shamanism. Some simple objects apparently derived from the common Balkan Urnfield *koine*. This applies notably to dress fasteners and wheels as ancient sun symbols. Some Aegean links can be traced for sheet gold leaves, for miniature double axes and for some elements of the earlier cist graves, like at Vergina, Dion, Saraj-Brod, Papadin Dol etc.⁶ The Aegean links may perhaps be connected with Late Mycenaean settlements and the first Greek colonies (Torone) in the gulf of Thessaloniki and in the Chalcidice.⁷

4 Esp. pithos Grave 2 at Drepanon, Achaea, I. Dekoulakou, *Erch. Ef.* 1973, 18–22, pl. 1b; Bouzek, MB IV, 411; Vrokastro tomb 3, Hall 2008, p. 143, no. 6, fig. 85 and Spelaion, grave A, Rhomiopoulou 1971, 38–40; cf. Bouzek, MB I, 103, 166.

5 MB IV, 41, MB V, 48–49.

6 Cf. MB II, 327–3278

7 Cf. Bouzek 1997a, 246–248; According to Strabo, C 279, C 282 and C 329, Bottiaea was a Cretan colony founded at a same time as Taras. Cf. Hammond 1972, 153, 295–296.

The chronological sequence of evolution remains basically valid even after thirty years. Five main chronological groups can be distinguished: the earliest group, the early and middle stages, the manneristic and the post-manneristic bronzes (**figs. 95–96**).⁸ The earliest group belongs to earlier part of the 8th century (cf. already Chauchitsa graves 13 and 22); the sub-PG skyphos from Chauchitsa 2 gives a good example.⁹ For the Early Stage, characterized formerly by Chauchitsa graves 4, 9 and 10 and by the Edinburgh group C, many new examples can be added. Cumae grave 16 and the Pithekoussai graves confirm the dating of this stage in the Late Geometric period (cf. now esp. MB VII).

The first (rather limited) links of Macedonian bronzes with proper Greece attested in more sophisticated objects date from the 8th century BC (Bouzek 1997a, 200–201). The prototype of the drinkers sitting on “jug-stoppers” seem to have been the Peloponnesian flute-players rather than the faience monkeys;¹⁰ one similar smith was found as far north as at Vranište near Bela Palanka in Serbia.¹¹ Some 8th century BC Macedonian bronzes also found their way into various Greek sanctuaries.¹²

The Middle Stage is now very well represented in all cemeteries newly excavated.¹³ Pyxis pendants comparable to the beginnings of this stage were found in Samos in a context dating ca. 730–670 BC, most probably ca. 700 BC.¹⁴ The Middle Stage is the period in which the production expanded and when the first Greek impacts were felt more clearly in the stylisation of birds and horses. Both derive ultimately from Corinthian artistic tradition, but were probably transmitted via Chalcidice and Thessaly. New excavations in Greece¹⁵

8 Cf. MB I, 163–175; MB II, 307–11; MB IV, 41–43, and MB VI, 47–49. The alternative chronologies put forward by Garašanin 1976, and by Kilian 1975, 10–140, are too general and schematic, though useful for comparison with other West Balkan groups. Kilian-Dirlmeier in her very useful corpus (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979) gives no detailed chronology at all.

9 Cf. for Geometric pottery of similar date Sakellariou 1965, B 305, pls. 471–472. Tiverios revealed there a floor with Euboean pottery dated ca. 800 BC, cf. esp. AEMT, 4 1990, 315–332 and later excavation reports in the same periodical.

10 10 MB I, 79–80, MB II, 51. K Schefold called them kobolds, ancient forerunners of satyrs (Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst 127, no. 50). Langdon 1990, 47–54, derives them from apes, but there are hardly any connecting links. Even if there might have been some iconographic inspiration, the shamanistic imagination characteristic for Macedonian bronzes was nearer to bears; apes would be out of context here. This seems to apply also to her interpretation of Italic amber figurines of a similar character, where an inspiration from Phoenician or Egyptian faience figurines is more plausible. Cf. Bouzek 1993a, 61–63.

11 Popović 1974.

12 A list MB II, 299–307, addenda MB IV, 46–59 and MB V, 49–59.

13 Cf. esp. D. Mitrevski, 1991 and 1988, 83–102; Videski 2004; 1996–7 (1998), 91–111. For other preliminary reports cf. Georgijev 1983 (1979–1982), 65–72; 1987, 37–53; Pašić 1975–1978, 21–52; 1979–1982, 61–64.

14 Cf. Gehrig 1964, 24–25 and MB I, 165 and 173.

15 At Agrosyikia near Giannitsa, Chrysostomou (1994, 127–136) are important especially the “anchor object”, fig. 10, and a belt with ring pendants (p. 133, fig. 3). Nice jug-stoppers of the middle stage

and in the Republic of Macedonia revealed many items of this stage.¹⁶ Videski (2004) published in the exhibition catalogue also new, previously unknown varieties, of which the spoon pendant from Glos, Grciste, the pyxis pendant with suspended bird cages cat. no. 130 from Suva Reka—Gevgelia, the double-bird or horse (?) cat. no. 131 from Lisičin Dol—Marvinci, the double bird with axe cat. no. 140 from Milci, Gevgelia, and the handled bowl pendant cat. no. 169 from Milci, Gevgelia, deserve particular attention (cf. **fig. 83, 1–9**).

The late (Manneristic) phase started in the Axios valley with Gevgelia groups A and B and with the Veles bronzes in the Benaki Museum,¹⁷ while it is also well represented in the new finds from the Macedonian Republic, only partly published as yet. The Kuç i Zi necropolis with mainly late Macedonian bronzes has been published by Zh. Andrea and M. Korkuti.¹⁸ All these finds represent the western branch of the production, while the eastern province is best known from the Chalcidice: from the finds from Trilophon-Messiméry in the Stathatos collection and in the Benaki Museum, from the lots reputedly found at Amphipolis and in other places in Eastern Macedonia, or from other objects in private and public collections with no known provenance at all.¹⁹ As for chronology, the Megara Hyblaea grave 660 gives a good date for the beginnings of the late stage (cf. MB II, 306, MB IV, 41 and MB VII). The photograph published by K. Kilian shows that the alabastron is Late Protocorinthian or Transitional, so the date around 640–630 seems to be the most suitable for other contents of the grave as well. The quatrefoil aryballos from Olynthus grave 616 dates from the second quarter of the 6th century, while the Aivasil grave with late

were found at Aiani (Karamitrious-Mentesidi 1988, 48, 54 Fig. 1), Apidea and Kastoria (Cg. Tsongarides, *AEMT* 11 1997, 25), Mavropygi (Ead., *AEMT* 12, 1998, 368: 34, “anchor” objects in Agrosyikia near Giannitsa (Chrysostomou 1991, 127–136), similar in openwork with bird finials at Axioupolis (former Bohemitsa), Stavropoulou 1988, 91–101. Cf. also the new survey of the Axios valley in Greece by Savvapoulou 2004, 307–316.

- 16 For a general survey of Macedonian bronzes from Bottiaea and Almopia cf. Chrysostomou 1993, 259–280, with a chart of sites indicating where the items have been found.
- 17 Cf. now also Vokotopoulou 1990, grave 5, pl. 6, (late 6th century: bead, openwork roundels, rings) and grave 6, pl. 63, cas. 500 BC pendants, beads, rings). Other lots Asomata near Veria Koukounou 2000, 572, fig. 2 (bird-cage pendant); Nea Zoe near Edessa (Chrysostomou 1993, 121–122 (pendants and beads), A. Athanasios in Thessaly (Tsimpidou-Aulonti 1993, 264, bracelet), Aeneia, Tsigarida 1994, 221 (pendants, beads and rings), Vergina (bead, Falakris 1994, 124), Phagres in Pieria (Nikolaïdou-Patera 1996, 846, bird on cage). Nea Zoni (Chrysostomou 1997, 153, full-globe pendants), Trapeza Lembet (Lioula – Gioula 1997, 326 (rings, spectacle fibula, rings). Interesting is also a Thracian axe pendant from Anchialos, Double Table (Tiverios et al. 1997, 304).
- 18 Andrea 1985, cf. also Korkuti 1985. The collective tumuli are large (14–43 m in diameter), and the foundations usually of stones. Pit graves, cist and urn burials exist side by side. His phase Barç II contains some LH III C pottery and is dated by him c. 1200–750, his phase Barç IV (c. 750–580) includes graves with Macedonian bronzes (like Kuç i Zi tumulus I). Cf. also Eggebrecht et al. 1988, which gives in figs. 66–78, 80–82 excellent illustrations of Macedonian bronzes from Kuç i Zi and other localities in Albania, and Korkuti 1995, 119–148.
- 19 Cf. MB VII and Orient und frühes Griechenland, nos. 10–12 (jug, pyxis pendant, bracelet). Another gold bead comes from Koukou in the Chalcidice (Arch. Rep. 1987/88, 49, fig. 56).

bronzes is of similar date.²⁰ A grave uncovered at Aedonochorion near Drama with a G type bead and a ring with protrusions contained an amphoriskos dating from the second quarter of the 6th century as well, while a similar date can be given to the lot in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung in Munich, said to have come from a grave between Kavalla and Drama, with C, E and F beads and with a late drop-shaped pendant.²¹

In the second part of the 6th century bronze ornaments went out of fashion, though some last remnants were in use until early 5th century,²² and they have descendants in the western Balkans reaching even the La Tène fashion (jug-stoppers, beads; cf. MB I, 83–86 and 118–120).

Macedonian bronzes of the Middle and Late Stages and their imitations are known from the main Peloponnesian sanctuaries, from Samos, Ephesus,²³ Rhodes and (partly) Thessaly, while the late Macedonian bronzes are common in Central Greece, Ithaca, Olympia and the eastern Aegean.²⁴ The East Macedonian manneristic bronzes were less frequently exported, though one of the jug-stoppers found its way as far north as to Donja Dolina in northern Bosnia, and beads have been found even in Hungary (fig. 98).²⁵

The big bronze beads were apparently worn in heavy collars in Macedonia. Elsewhere they are less common in sets (as are also their local imitations), but they enjoyed the largest distribution of all Macedonian bronzes.

All Macedonian bronzes were apparently considered to be of some magical, talismanic character, which made them popular as gifts to sanctuaries. In the grave of a Paeonian priestess (or witch?) at Marvinci with a full set of bronze “jewellery” the pyxis contained opium, what may well be the general use of these vessels (Mitrevski 1996–1997 (1998), 69–88). The most plausible explanation of the jug-stoppers is that they represent the shaman (or rather shamaness?),²⁶ while drinking his or her magic potion and magically climbing a tree.²⁷ These objects have parallels also in modern shamanistic rituals and also analogies for other objects from the East where shamanistic rituals were common. Macedonian and related Thessalian bronzes frequently appear as gifts in Thessalian sanctuaries (cf. now Kilian-Dirlmeier 2003, pls. 61–65), in

20 Aivasil Gardner, BSA 23 1918, 19–24; Olynthus X, 66, 121 and Olynthus V, pl. 44: 3; MB I, 166 and 175 Fig. 38. The majority of other beads found at Olynthus also date from the 6th century BC.

21 Kilian 1975b, 7 and 33; MB IV, 42, fig. 2: 1–12 satyr presented with a lot of 6th century Macedonian bronzes to the Ashmolean Museum by Prof. Herbert Cahn also suggests a similar date.

22 For ex. Hochstätter 1987, 37 pl. 3: 2. Another bead has also been found at Pistiros, allegedly in early 5th century BC context.

23 For Ephesus and parallels cf. now esp. Muss (2000, 149–155), and Klebinder-Gauss 2004, 109–116.

24 Cf. MB II and the lists composed by Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 215–253, and also note 33. The Macedonian bronzes were as common in Greece as the Italic imports.

25 Surveys in MB II, 293–306, with addenda MB IV, 46–58.

26 In Eastern Asia (like e.g. in Korea) the shamanistic rituals are performed by women. In Siberia the shamans are men, but they dress as women and call themselves in the feminine form as “she”.

27 Cf. notes 10 and 19.

a country famous for its witches and sorcerers during the whole of Classical antiquity (**figs. 97–98**; Metzler 1982, 75–82; Bouzek–Ondřejová 1991, 51–58; Bouzek 1997a, 38–39; cf., also Čausidis 1988, 69–89).

At Pithekoussai they were apparently put into graves of the second generation as talismanic items, perhaps by mothers to her prematurely died children. Grave 660 of Megara Hyblaea may well have been one of a priestess or witch. These ladies apparently came with the colonists from Macedonia to Magna Graecia and prolonged their religious activities there (cf. MB IV, 57–58, MB VII and Pingel 1980, 165–175; Pace 2001, 33–69 (Dalmatian and Macedonian)).

Macedonian bronzes were mainly produced and worn by the Paeonians in the Vardar valley and by the south-western Thracians, notably by the Edonians, known from their alliance with the Cimmerians mentioned above, while their neighbours (Mygdonians, Crestonians and the smaller tribes on the Chalcidice) also participated. In the second half of the 6th century the bronze items were largely replaced by gold and silver jewellery, but earlier the bronze pendants and beads represented the noble aristocratic women in the whole area; the aristocratic class had similar taste and values in all the areas of the tribal kingdoms mentioned, as was the case with gold and silver jewellery of late 6th and 5th century BC, known from Sindos and Trebenište (cf. Bouzek – Ondřejová 1991, 84–94). In Pieria, the centre of the Macedonian kingdom, only a few items were found, while there was much more response to the Macedonian style in Thessaly in the workshops producing votive offerings for Thessalian sanctuaries at Pherai, Philia and even at Kalapodi further south (cf. the lists in MB II, and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979 (note 31)).

The Macedonian bronzes enriched the vocabulary of Early Greek artists at a time when they eagerly took over much inspiration from various parts of the world. Their links with Dionysiac rituals of drinking and some links with shamanism many also have influenced Greek religion of the time. On the other hand, they became the models for production of bronze jewellery in other cultural groups in the central Balkans. Some items found their way as far north as to Hungary, where they appear in graves of the nomadic Szentese-Vekerzug culture, and to Donja Dolina in northern Bosnia.

Chalcidice and its vicinity had several Greek colonies; the first of them was Torone, founded already in the Submycenaean period, but their number much enlarged in the second half of the 8th and 7th century BC. These colonies apparently transmitted Greek artistic achievements to the north, but also the elements of Thracian, Macedonian, Paeonian and Molossian artistic features to the south. They were apparently connected with some religious ideas and rituals. The Greeks had much admiration of the religion of their northern neighbours. The priestly families of main Greek mystery sanctuaries claimed Thracian origin, like at Eleusis. Dionysus and orphic teachings

came to Greece from the north; even Apollo had strong links with his Hyperboreans. The priestess from Marvinci (**figs. 97a, b**) and another from Megara Hyblaea (**fig. 94 above**) were carrying a similar religious message, even for the Greeks in the colonial outposts. The literary traditions on itinerant magicians and diviners, and also those on shamanism (cf. Burkert 1983, 115–119; 1962, 36–55) find thus parallels among archaeological finds.

Archaic Greece owed much to its eastern neighbours, but also to impulses from the north, among them from the area where the studies of Vera Bitrakova-Grozdanova were concentrated.

Abbreviations:

AAA – here *Archaikogika Analekta ex Athenon*.

Arch. Ef. – *Archaiologike Efemeris*.

Arch. Delt. – *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

AEMT – *To Archaiologiko Ergo ex Makedonias kai Thrakes*.

GAE – Bouzek 1997: *J. Bouzek, Greece, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations during the Early Iron Age*, Jonsered.

MB I – J. Bouzek, *Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes, Analysis and Chronology*, Prague 1974.

MB II – Id., *Macedonian Bronzes: their origins, distribution and relation to other cultural groups of the Early Iron Age*, *Památky archeologické* 65, 1974, 278–341.

MB III – Id., *Macedonian Bronzes and history*, *Graecolatina Pragensia* 7, 1976, 39–62.

MB IV – Id., *Addenda to Macedonian Bronzes*, *Eirene* 18, 1982, 35–60.

MB V – Id., *Thessalian and Macedonian bronzes, Macedonian beads*, *Graecolatina Pragensia* 11, 1987 (1989), 77–101.

MB VI – Id., *Macedonian and Thessalian Bronzes*, *Efemeris Archaiologike* 1988, 47–60.

MB VII – Id., *Makedonische Bronzen in Italien*, in *Akten des Symposions Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer, Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen, 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr.*, Wien 1999 (2000), eds. V. Gassner, M. Kerschner, U. Muss, G. Wlach, 363–369.

MEFRA – *Melanges d'Ecole Francaise d'Archeologie à Rome, Antiquité*.

Mitrevski, Dedeli: D. Mitrevski, Dedeli, *Nekropola od železnoto vreme vo dolina Povardarja*, Skopje 1991.

PZ – *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*.

Videski, *Makedonski bronzi*: Z. Videski, *Makedonski bronzi – Macedonian Bronzes, Exhibition catalogue*, Skopje 2004.

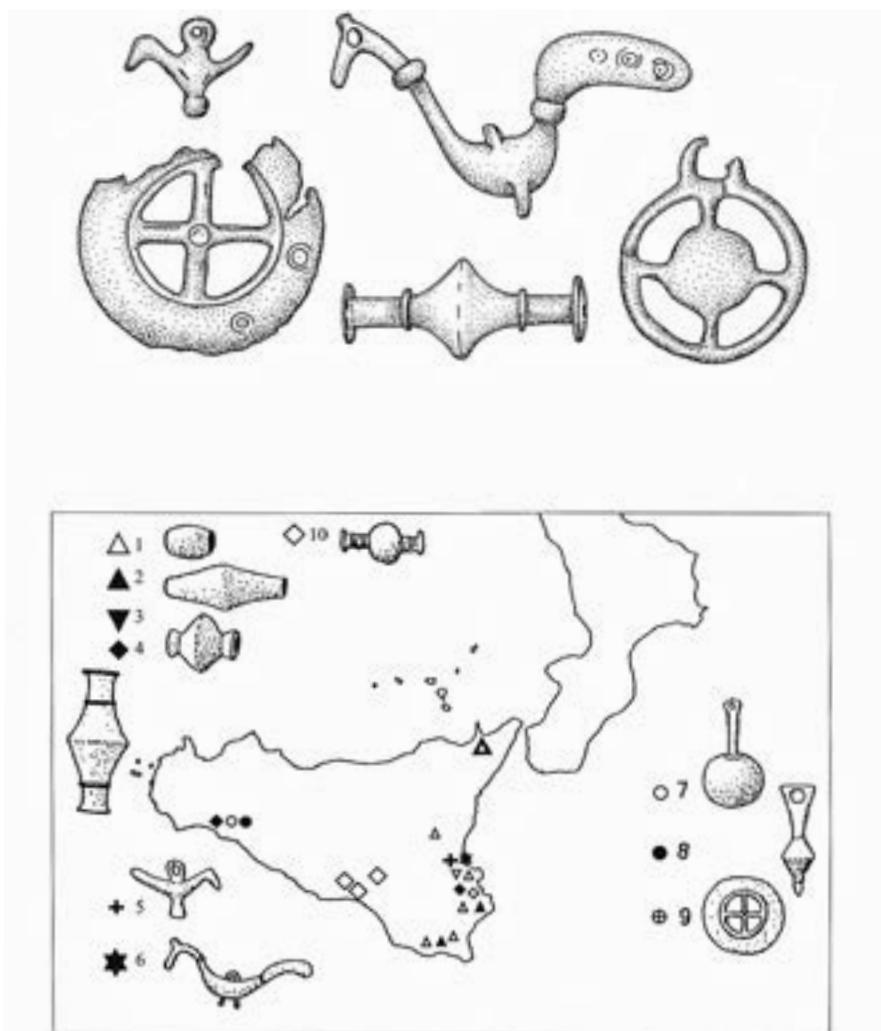


Fig. 94: Above Megara Hyblaea, grave of priestess, below Macedonian bronzes from Sicily.

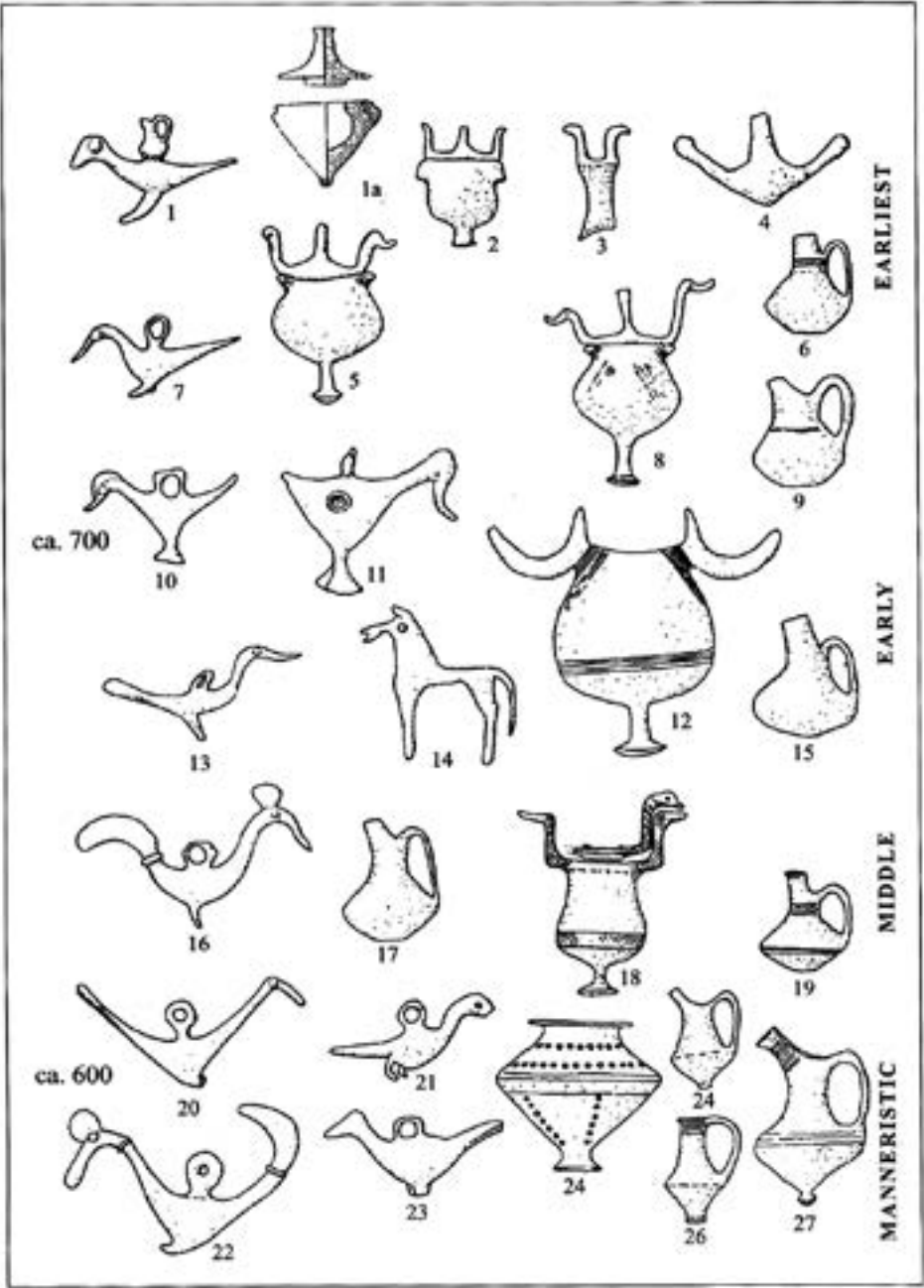


Fig. 95: Development of Macedonian pendants: birds, pyxidae, juglets, anchor objects and horse. After MB I, completed.

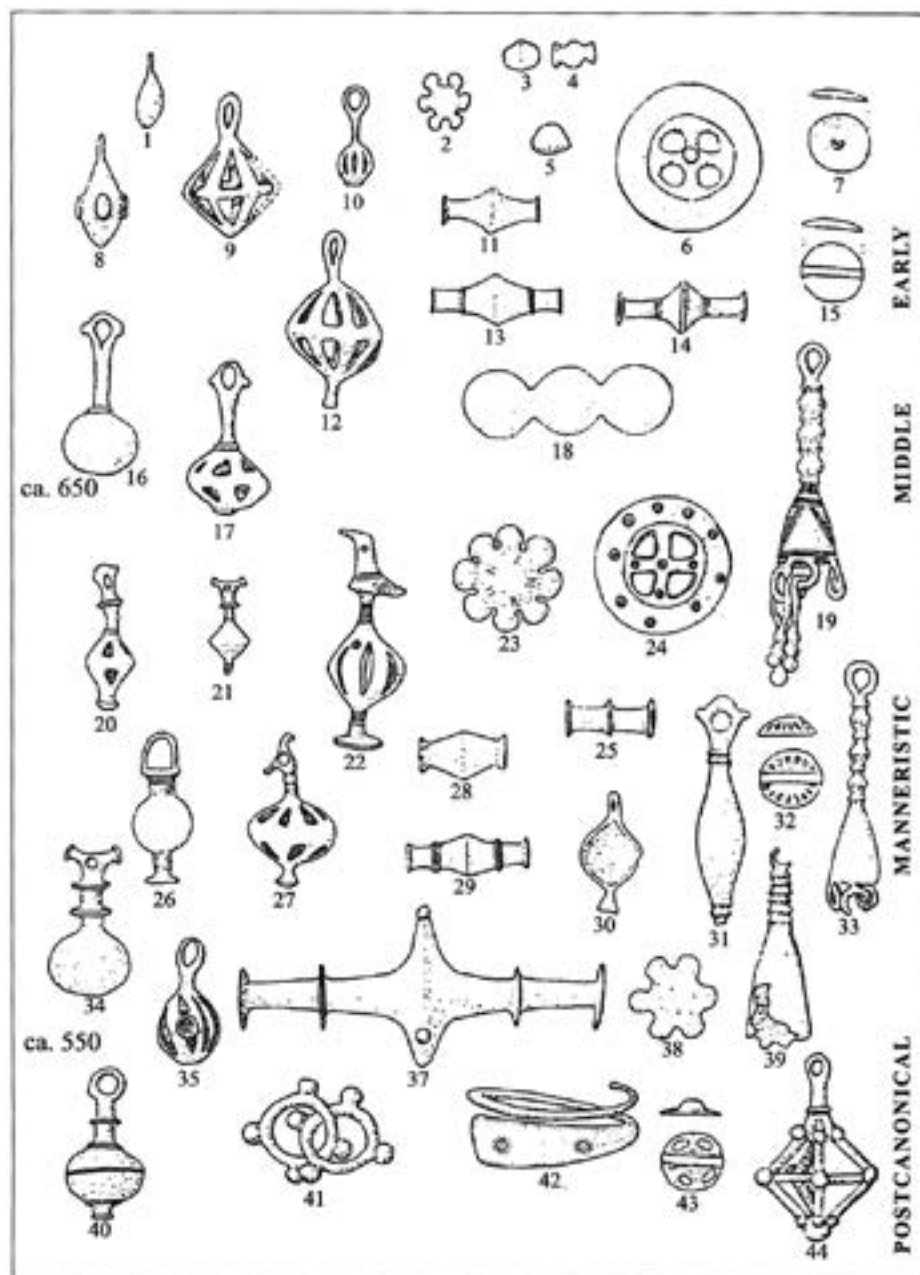


Fig. 96: Development of Macedonian bronzes: bird cage and globe pendants, birds, plaques, arm rings and bell pendants. After MB I, completed.



Fig. 98: Distribution of Macedonian beads. After MB III and IV, completed.

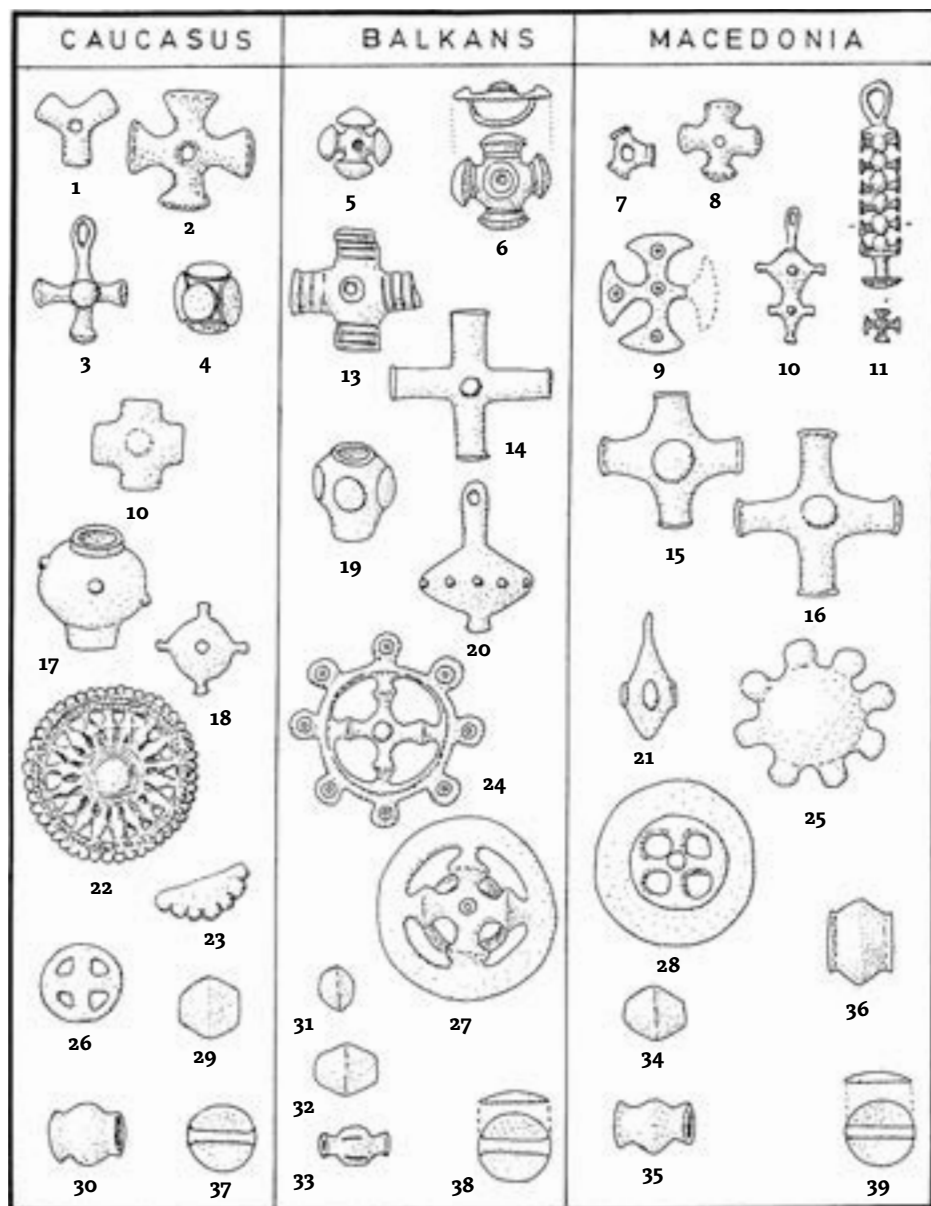


Fig. 99: Comparative chart of bronze objects from northern Caucasus (Kuban area, 1-4, 12, 17-18, 22-23, 26, 29-30, 37), from the Balkans (5 Adaševci, 6 Somlyóhegy, 13 Somlyóvásárhely, 14 from Hungary, 19 Ugra, 20 Prozor, 24 Nagyenyed-Kakasdomb, 27, 31-32 Battina [Kisköszeg], 33-34 Glasinac) and Macedonia (7-8 and 16 Trilophon-Messimeri, 9 Belasica, 10 Kumanovo, 11 Amphipolis, 15 Gevgelia, 21, 34-35 Chauchitsa, 25 Donja Dolina, 28 Radanja, 36 Olynthus, 39 Kumanovo).

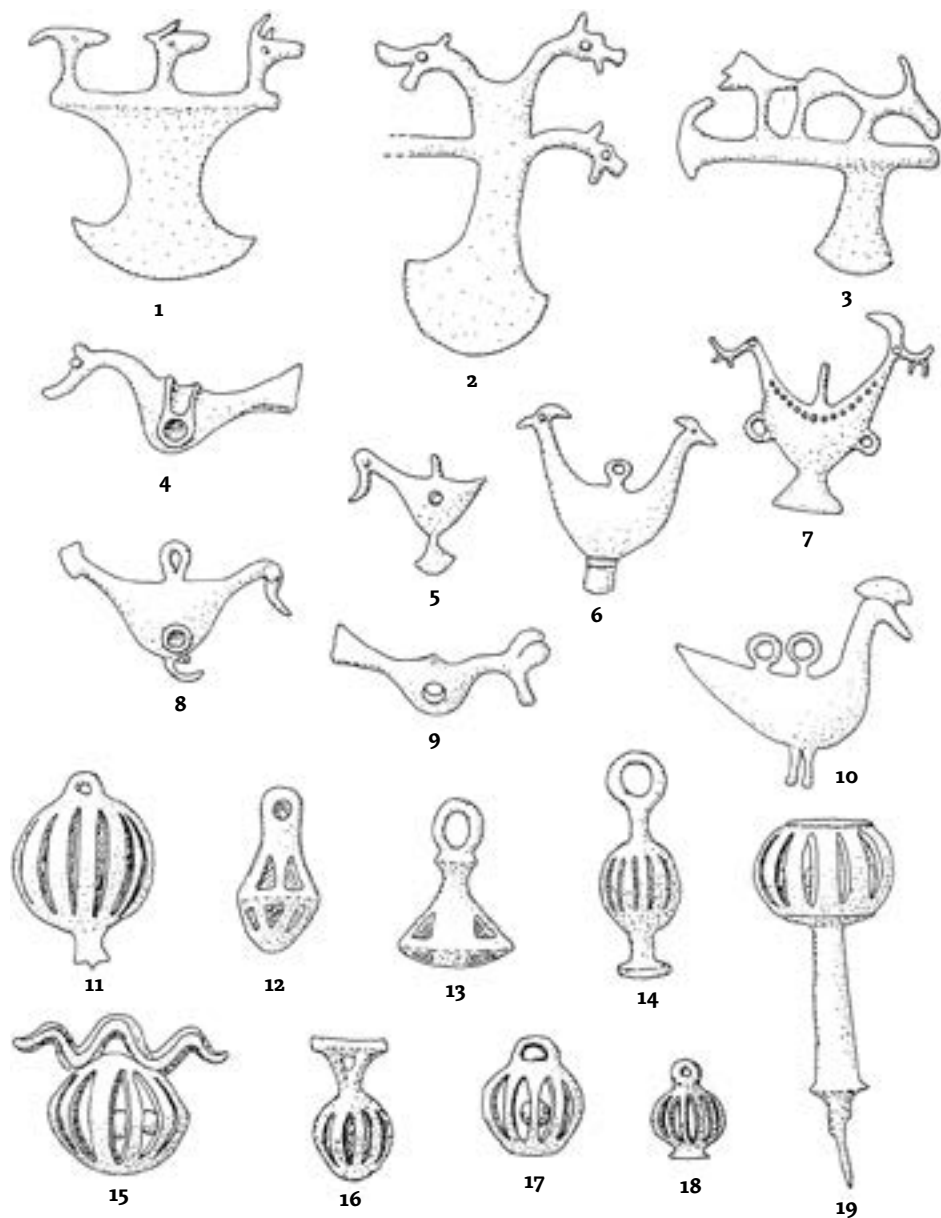


Fig. 100: Macedonian and Thracian bronzes and their parallels. 1 from Bulgaria, 2 Kuban area, 3 Stara Zagora, Bulgaria, 4 and 9 from the Kuban area, 5 Štip, 6 near Rila monastery, 7 Transylvania, 8 Radanja, 10 Prozor, 11 Luristan, 12 Redkin Lager, Armenia, 13 Upper Kuban, 14 Rusanoviči (Glasinac), 15 Třtěno, Bohemia, 16 Iljak (Glasinac), 17 and 18 Bex and Subingen (both Switzerland), 19 Staraja mogila near Kelermes.

7.3 THE HISTORY OF MACEDONIAN BRONZES

THE HISTORY OF EARLY EXCAVATIONS AND COLLECTING²⁸

The first collector of Macedonian bronzes lived in Hellenistic times and his collection was found when excavating Vardarski Rid (Mitrevski 2005, 238–240, figs. 21–22), but for long period he had no followers. There are very few documents on collecting EIA bronzes from Macedonia prior to the First World War, one of them is a mention in the catalogue of the first collection of Sir Arthur Evans, who later excavated the Knossos palace, but in his early years he was much involved in politics of the SW Balkans. Some items, however, were known earlier; among the first mentions of this category of bronze objects is the famous book by Konstantin Jireček, *Die Heeresstrasse von Belgrad nach Konstantinopel und die Balkanpässe*, published in Prague in 1877.²⁹ The Russian Institute at Constantinople excavated at Pateli (H. Panteleimon) on the Ostrov Lake.³⁰

But the great impact to their history was the First World War. The trenches made by soldiers from all armies participating in the ditch war across Macedonia uncovered a number of EIA graves with bronzes. Some of the armies at the time when the front line did not move substantially organized special archaeological units to conduct rescue excavations. The British unit excavated especially graves at Chauchitsa at the Doiran lake (cf. Popov 1981, 164) just south of the present frontier, the French units those further west, especially at Bohemitsa,³¹ and the German army notably the tombs near Dedeli³² more to the north. Even Bulgarians participated in these activities in some way (cf. Popov 1981, 164), though the most important from their projects were the rescue excavations of Trebenište, conducted by another Czech, Karel Škorpil. After the end of the war, the objects found there were presented by some acts mainly to the states with victorious armies, but even the Germans took their share to Germany, and large part of it, notably the small bronzes from Dedeli, went to the Museum für Völkerkunde at Leipzig and later, in the GDR time, some part of them was transferred into the German Historical Museum in Berlin. In Bulgaria some other items of uncertain provenance but acquired just after the First World War are kept in the Sofia Archaeological Museum. In France many of them, excavated or acquired by Léon Rey and his group, remained in private collections, while a number of them was presented to the Louvre. In Britain, besides the Edinburgh Museum, where several grave units

28 First published in: Grozdanov, ed. 2007, 107–122.

29 Bronze birds and other objects from Batak, o.c. p. 40.

30 Published only partly, in various small contributions. For bibliography cf. *MB II*, 293.

31 Now Axioupolis – Rey 1928, 40–61.

32 Rescued by H. Draggendorf, cf. Pingel 1970, 8–12.

from Chauchitsa are kept, also the British Museum, the Fitzwillian Museum in Cambridge and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford received various gifts of these items. Cf. Casson 1918–1919.

In the twenties, the most important were S. Casson's excavations at Chauchitsa. The looting of tombs was also widespread in the south; many objects went to rich Greek collectors, the best known of them were the Stathatos (**fig. 7C**) and Benaki collections, now kept in the National and Benaki Museum at Athens. Especially the Benaki Museum received already before a large lot of the items from Veles, of which substantial part has not yet been published, notably the jug-stoppers not cast in one, but composed of small triquetra hung on a cord originally.

But still after the Second World War a number of lots appeared on the market of antiquities, and such acquisitions became popular. Among them a number of American private collectors took a large share. But of course the new finds much surpass what was known before.

THE SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

The Macedonian bronzes developed from several traditions, some of them connected with horse harness and shamanism. Some simple objects among them apparently derived from the common Balkan Urnfield *koine*. This applies notably to dress fasteners and wheels as ancient sun symbols. Some Mycenaean links can be traced for sheet gold leaves, for miniature double axes and for some elements of the earlier cist graves, like at Vergina, Dion, Saraj-Brod, Papadin Dol etc (cf. MB II, 327–328). The Aegean links marked by the popularity of double axes and the small metal beads, mainly known in Cypriot jewellery, may perhaps be connected with late Mycenaean settlements producing LH III C pottery and/or the first Greek colonies (Torone) in the gulf of Thessaloniki and in the Chalcidice,³³ and with their impacts on their neighbours.

The main sources of inspiration of Macedonian bronzes, however, can still be seen in the North Caucasian area (Kuban group, cf. **figs. 99–100**); this phenomenon can probably be connected with the alliance of Thracian Edoni and Cimmerians recorded by Strabo (Strabo C 329, fr. 11, cf. MB III, 42–45 and MB IV, 45). The recent Caucasian chronology leaves enough time for an earlier dating of some parallel objects in the Caucasus area, and the earliest so-called Cimmerian bronzes in the eastern part of Central Europe and the Balkans are now dated in the (early) 9th century BC (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 197–199).

33 Cf. Bouzek 1997a, 246–248; according to Strabo, C 279, C 282 and C 329, Bottiaea was a Cretan colony founded at a same time as Taras. Cf. Hammond 1972, 153, 295–296. The cemetery of Torone now Papadopoulos, The EIA Cemetery of Torone I, Malibu 2005.

Many traits characteristic for Macedonian bronzes can also be connected with the Early Iron Age art of northern Eurasia further north and east, with the Cimmerians and their contemporaries, with the equestrian/shamanistic area of Turan. Many parallels to Macedonian bronzes and groups related to them can be seen in the Volga-Oka region (now mainly Tatarstan), in the western and Eastern Siberia and as far as in the Ordos province of China. The recent scholarship has shown that these comparable objects developed in the 9th and 8th centuries in the East, i.e. roughly at the same time as their western parallels among the Cimmerian and Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes, and, as the recent chronology appears to show, the first Macedonian bronzes are not essentially later.

THEIR EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

Their immediate predecessors, like the Vitsa pyxis, still date from late 9th century, while the beginning of the main series is roughly contemporary with the main wave of Greek expansion to Chalcidice, the Greek colonisation there and in Magna Graecia. The earliest graves with such bronzes can now be dated in the second quarter of the 8th century, while most of those of the early stage date from the second half of the 8th century.³⁴ But the representation itself has its roots in the shamanistic ritual objects (cf. below). The first centre of production may well have been in Paeonia (so the name Macedonian scholars now sometimes use, Paeonian bronzes may be used as well), but soon the neighbours in Thrace produced them as well. Apparently they were symbols and jewellery of the upper class of the whole area, and were less considered signs of ethnic particularity: This “internationalisation of fashion” is even more apparent in later jewellery of gold and silver, in the field where close links between the Trebenište and Sindos jewellery can be traced (see below).

The first (rather limited) links of Macedonian bronzes with proper Greece attested in more sophisticated objects date from the 8th century BC (Bouzek 1997a, 200–201). The models of the drinkers sitting on “jug-stoppers” may have been the Peloponnesian flute-players and also the faience monkeys.³⁵ It is of interest that one similar 8th century smith was found as far north as at Vranište near Bela Palanka in Serbia (Popović 1974, 37, no. 170, pl. 16).

34 A list *MB II*, 299–307, addenda *MB IV*, 46–59 and *MB V*, 49–59.

35 58 *MB I*, 79–80, *MB II*, 51. K. Scheffold called them kobolds, ancient forerunners of satyrs (*Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* 127, no. 50). Langdon 1990, 47–54, derives them from apes, but there are hardly any connecting links. Even if there might have been some iconographic inspiration, the shamanistic imagination characteristic for Macedonian bronzes was nearer to bears; apes would be out of context here. This seems to apply also to her interpretation of Italic amber figurines of a similar character, where an inspiration from Phoenician or Egyptian faience figurines is more plausible. Cf. Bouzek 1993a, 61–63.

Macedonian bronzes were mainly produced and worn by the Paeonians in the Vardar valley and by the south-western Thracians, notably by the Edonians, known from their alliance with the Cimmerians mentioned above, while their neighbours (Mygdonians, Crestonians and the smaller tribes on the Chalcidice) also participated. In the second half of the 6th century the bronze items were largely replaced by gold and silver jewellery, but earlier the bronze pendants and beads represented the noble aristocratic women in the whole area; the aristocratic class had similar taste and values in all the areas of the tribal kingdoms mentioned, as was the case with gold and silver jewellery of late 6th and 5th century BC, known from Sindos and Trebenište (cf. Bouzek – Ondřejová 1991, 84–94). Also the predecessors of this jewellery enjoyed popularity beyond ethnic territories of individual tribes, Paeonians and SW Thracians, around the same area. In Pieria, however, the centre of the Macedonian kingdom, only a few items were found, while there was much more response to the Macedonian style in Thessaly in the workshops producing votive offerings for Thessalian sanctuaries at Pherai, Philia and even at Kalapodi further south.³⁶

THEIR IMPACT: MESSAGE OF MACEDONIAN BRONZES IN GREECE, ITALY AND IN THE NORTHERN BALKANS

Some 8th century BC Macedonian bronzes and their imitations also found their way into various Greek sanctuaries, while Macedonian bronzes of the Middle and Late Stages and their imitations are known from the main mainland sanctuaries (Olympia, Delphi, Athenian Acropolis, Aegina, etc.) and from the eastern Aegean:³⁷ Samos, Ephesus,³⁸ Rhodes. They were common in Thessaly and in the western Greece also in Ithaca. The East Macedonian manneristic bronzes (produced in the Chalcidice area) were less frequently exported, though one of the jug-stoppers found its way as far north as to Donja Dolina in northern Bosnia and beads reached even Hungary (**fig. 98**).³⁹

The big bronze beads were apparently worn in heavy colliers in Macedonia. Elsewhere they are less common in sets (as are also their local imitations), but they enjoyed the largest distribution of all Macedonian bronzes, and were known throughout Italy (even outside the Greek colonies, in Picenum and Etruria) and even in Carthage.

36 Cf. the lists in *MB II*, and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979.

37 Cf. *MB II* and the lists composed by Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 215–253, and also note 33. The Macedonian bronzes were as common in Greece as the Italic imports, cf. Bouzek 1997a, 108–114.

38 For Ephesus and parallels cf, now esp. Muss (2000, 149–155), and Klebinder-Gauss 2004, 109–116.

39 Surveys in *MB II*, 293–306, with addenda *MB IV*, 46–58.

The colonies in Chalcidice apparently transmitted not only Greek artistic achievements to the north, but also the elements of Thracian, Macedonian, Paeonian and Molossian artistic features to the south. They were apparently connected with some religious ideas and rituals. The Macedonian bronzes enriched the vocabulary of Early Greek artists at a time when they eagerly took over much inspiration from various parts of the world.

In the main area the corpus of finds is enlarging. I was deeply impressed when seeing many more items in the National Museum in Skopje and in what I could get information about new projects and finds. Among the new publications, I would appreciate a new spoon pendant, rare object, from northern Macedonia (Krstevski – Sokolovska 1997–1999, 65–87, esp. 82, fig. 21) and it gave me again the impetus to look more after the knobs with petals, as found at Milci (Husenovski 1997–1999, 89–118, pl. IV:2, 104). The six petals with the central disc in the middle may well have meant the sun with moon and five other planets, as usual also in the Caucasian and Etruscan bronze sheet ornaments. New publications discussing the graves of priestesses or comparable noble women in *Festschrift for Bibi Teržan* (Situla 44, 2007)⁴⁰ underline the importance of the spiritual life which lie behind these modest bronze ornaments.

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

All Macedonian bronzes were apparently considered to be not only decorative jewellery, but objects of some magical, talismanic character, what made them also proper gifts to sanctuaries. In the grave of a Paeonian priestess (or witch?) at Marvinci with a full set of bronze “jewellery” (**fig. 97a, b**), the pyxis contained opium, what may well be the general use of these vessels (Mitrevski 1996–1997, 69–88). The most plausible explanation of the “jug-stoppers” with drinkers is that they represent the shaman (or shamaness?),⁴¹ while drinking his or her magic potion and magically climbing up a tree (**pl. B 4.1–3**; cf. notes 10, 27 and 29). These objects have parallels also in modern shamanistic rituals and analogies exist even for other objects from the East where shamanistic rituals were common. Macedonian and related Thessalian bronzes frequently appear as gifts in Thessalian sanctuaries (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2003, 61–65), in a country famous for its witches and sorcerers during the whole of Classical antiquity (Metzler 1982, 75–82; Bouzek – Ondřejová 1988 (1991), 51–58; Bouzek 1997a, 38–39; cf. also Čausidis 1988, 69–89).

Their links with Dionysiac rituals of drinking and some links with shamanism may also have influenced Greek religion of the time. On the other

⁴⁰ Mitrevski 2009, 563–582, and Temov 2009, 657–665 (Liščin Dol 15, Bučinci 12).

⁴¹ In Eastern Asia, (like e.g. in Korea) the shamanistic rituals are performed by women. In Siberia the shamans are men, but they dress as women and call themselves in the feminine form as “she”.

hand, they became the models for production of bronze jewellery in other cultural groups in the central Balkans. The Greeks had much admiration of the religion of their northern neighbours.⁴² The priestly families of main Greek mystery sanctuaries claimed Thracian origin, like at Eleusis, Dionysus and orphic teachings came to Greece from the north; even Apollo had strong links with his Hyperboreans. The priestess from Marvinci (**figs. 77 a, b**) and another from Megara Hyblaea (**fig. 94**) were carrying a similar religious message, even for the Greeks in the colonial outposts and for their neighbours, the Etruscans and Picenians. The literary traditions on itinerant magicians and diviners, and also those on shamanism⁴³ find thus confirmation by the new archaeological finds in the core area of production and use of the Macedonian (Paeonian) bronzes.⁴⁴

7.4 MACEDONIAN BRONZES TODAY

Macedonian bronzes represent one of the most interesting members of the *koine* of Geometric styles of the Early Iron Age, which developed over a large area including most parts of Europe, Transcaucasia, Northern Iran and also the Eurasian steppes up to Northern China. As in other transitional periods of development of human mind, the abstract Geometric styles represented a new attempt to approach reality throughout its geometric and mathematical structure; we see a similar development of our times, with modern abstract art and the mathematisation in the fields of physics, chemistry and even biology.

The emergence of the so-called philosophical mind has one of its aspects in Greek philosophy, but the imposing of human will to horse, which enabled the emergence of real cavalry, was accomplished by the nomadic people, among the first by the Cimmerians. The art of horsemanship brought to Europe also some elements of magic of which we still have traces in modern shamanism; all this field was another expression of strong individual will which can also master individually the animals, of the liberation from the earlier Bronze Age system of social order based on supreme authorities and unchangeable tradition. Some part of the new approach to reality were the Dionysiac rituals which liberated the individuals from the blood relations and enabled them to close new relations by their own will—in Dionysiac religion and in the leader-and-his-followers (*Gefolgschaft*) system of social life.

42 For more general perspective cf. also Petrova 1999, 113–120.

43 Cf. Burkert 1983, 115–119; 1962, 36–55.

44 I would like to express my warm thanks for the hospitality I enjoyed during the conference at Skopje to the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences and all my friends and colleagues there.

The school of Macedonian bronzes arose as a response to the new state of mind at the threshold of several worlds. At the beginnings, in mid 8th century BC, it took much inspiration from the eastern nomadic world of the North Caucasian steppes, together with inspiration of riding ideology and some kind of shamanism concentrated in ruling over animal forces. It also used some drugs for its purpose and much importance had the priestesses who performed the magic rituals for their kin, as shown before shortly by D. Mitrevski. The aristocracy of the Paeonians and neighbouring Thracians found in the sophisticated style of bronze ornaments the proper expression of their will to representation, but they were also implements of magical rituals establishing and confirming their cultural identity and social order. They became popular even in Greece and in the north. They found the way to most of Greek sanctuaries in the Aegean, including the Ionian centres in Asia Minor and the Western Greeks, apparently with the magic connected with them. Similarly, they also came north to the Illyrians, Dardanoi and even arrived in the Scythian tombs in Hungary. While using bronze for their ornaments this society remained more egalitarian and it kept its social coherence, before—in mid 6th century BC—it developed the new phase of social order reflected in the Trebenište, Sindos and related rich burials, a system enabling more sophisticated, self-representation of rich aristocracy in the world of emerging from the earlier tribal system to tribal kingdoms, among them that of the Paeonians.⁴⁵

The Macedonian bronzes represent important artistic message of the past. Their inspiration can even be traced in modern art, whose goals in achieving the new deeper and more proper understanding of our world needs inspirations from similar attempts in the past. We, as archaeologists and scholars dealing with the distant past, have to help to transmit the voice of the old message which should be listened as a source of inspiration just in our transitional time with its rising difficulties.

45 Of the newly published bronzes those from private collections gain again more importance, cf. esp. Marazov 2011, nos. 16–22, 24–27. The openwork bird has best parallels in Transcaucasia; Paspas 2014, 527–541.

PART 8: GEOMETRIC KOINE

8.1 RELATIONS BETWEEN THE AEGEAN AND THE NORTH. THE AMBER ROUTE

Amber was considered in antiquity a very particular substance with healing qualities, and also connected with the Hyperborean links of Greek Apollo; the legends on the Hyperborean maidens and the Herodotus' report underline its particular significance in Greece. Similarly as raw metals, it belonged to important materials of long-distance trade during the Bronze and Early Iron Age.

Amber was known as rare jewel already in the earlier Bronze Age, notably in 17th–15th century BC. The Shaft Graves at Mycenae, Kakovatos, Myrsino and Routsis tombs (NM Athens 7936–7937, 39, 41, cf. **fig. 102.1–11**), contained rather large amount of amber beads and some spacer-beads, resembling those known from the Wessex culture mostly, while the Central European group had another wear (cf. Harding 1984, 58–61; AAE, 54–58; Hughes-Brock 2003). The Knossos roundel (**fig. 102.12**) has been lost, but it can well be compared with those of the Wessex culture. As some amber was found also in the shipwrecks of Yassi Ada and Kaş, and even Egyptian scarabs of amber are known (besides the famous amber necklace in the tomb of Tutankhamun, cf. esp. Hood 2002), this substance was widely known and esteemed since the 18th century BC. The western route for this early amber was held for more probable than the Central European one (cf. **fig. 101**), the main route later should also be considered. Other new finds, like the Nebra disc, underline again the existence of a kind of *koine* of ideas, in which large parts of prehistoric Europe participated together with the Aegean and East Mediterranean civilisations. In all these links, the Amber Route played an important role. The West Bohemian gold roundels (fig. 6.1–3 with twelve bosses are simplified calendars of the gold cones (Schauer 1985; cf. also May – Zimpe 2000).

There are a number of documents showing contacts between the northern Balkans and Greece during the times of Early Mycenaean culture and the Thera eruption (cf. ch. 1.2). New finds of amber items with signs in Linear script related to Mycenaean from Bavaria (Gebhard – Rieder 2002)—if genuine—underline this specific importance of amber which also served for fumigation.

As the traditional date of the Trojan War was in the 12th century BC, the previous Trojan War, in which also Heracles participated, was in its mythological date several generations earlier. Heracles also took part in the mythical history of the Argonauts, the earliest Greek heroic legend on the Black Sea and Adriatic contacts of Greek heroes (Rossignoli 2001). It may well be placed in the Shaft Graves period, i.e. roughly towards the end of the Central European Early Bronze Age; according to the contemporary chronology in the 17th century BC approximately. The Argonauts returned to Greece via Danube, Sava/Drava and *Caput Adriae*, these rivers and the northern end of the Adriatic Sea were also the extreme north of the inhabitable land in the geography of Early Greek mythologies (Shefton 2001; Schauer, ed. 1995; esp. Delpino 1995).

The Adriatic area was marked archaeologically by a certain *koiné* during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, though its Middle Bronze Age predecessor also existed. As well known since Merhart's studies, the area of the NW Balkans and around the eastern Alps was the territory in which the Sprockhoff I and IIa flange-hilted swords emerged (**figs. 17, 21.1–3, 23**), together with the earliest sheet armour and probably also the lanceolate spearheads. This armour arose from some Aegean inspiration and it penetrated in the Aegean and to Cyprus (ch. 2.1). The Adriatic was very probably one of the routes through which the Central Europeans participated in the Sea Peoples movements (AAE, 92–152). The violin-bow fibulae (**fig. 16**) and the first bow fibulae (**fig. 51**) show similar distribution pattern as the weapons and armour and they originated in the same area around the NE tip of the Adriatic Sea (cf. AAE, 152–160; for the northern Adriatic esp. van Eles Masi 1986, pl. 1–3 violin bow, pl. 3–12 simple bow; Glogović 2003; Vasić 1999, violin bow pl. 61, simple bow pl. 63, pl. 62 spectacle). The distribution of spectacle fibulae followed a similar pattern (**fig. 53**).

The bird protomae on the prows of ships of the Sea Peoples and the birds on LH III C vases in Greece, Cyprus and on the Philistine vases in Palestine derived from the *koiné* of symbols typical for Central Europe and for Scandinavia (Kaul 2002; Bouzek AAE, 176–180, GAE, 34–44; here **figs. 42 and 43**). The Philistines are among the best candidates for the Central European participation in the Sea Peoples movement. Still Goliath wore typical “European” armour of bronze sheet (I. Sam. 17, 6). On the other hand, the Macedonian Lausitz Ware (**fig. 27**) is best comparable with the pottery known around the eastern Alps and from Croatia, from where its bearers probably came (AAE, 190–192; cf. Paulík 1999–2001, 2002–2003).

The first and larger LBA *koiné* belonged to 13th–12th century BC, the second to the 11th century and the third and fourth to Late Urnfields and to the Early Hallstatt culture of Ha C. Since the beginnings of written reports in Greece, Adriatic was known as an area of Illyrian piracy (cf. Mihovilić 2004; Nava 2004), but amber relay trade was well organized on religious pattern

(Herod. IV. 33–35). The amber trade with the north was in Illyrian hands during the Early Iron Age, transmitted by them to the Etruscans and the Greeks.

Amber is very light, easily transportable; even a rucksack may bring fortune. But in Mediterranean BA shipwrecks it formed less than 1% of the cargo. In most cases it was rather small addition to other commodities carried by ships, wagons or pack animals. While until LBA the amber jewellery was exclusively possessed by top elite, since 1200 BC much broader middle class might afford some of it. The private merchants replaced most of the gift exchange between rulers ca. 1000 BC in the Mediterranean.

Parallels between the “figure-of-eight” of gold wire (**pl. B 1.4**) and the Tiryns wheel show the way amber was traded from the Baltic Sea in late second millennium BC, and this Central European Amber Route is well marked, since the end of the second millennium BC, by various objects of southern origin or inspiration found along the Morava and Oder rivers. The Tiryns and Allumière beads (**fig. 103**) are among the main characteristics of the Adriatic koine of the earliest Iron Age (Sprinz 1993; Hughes-Brock 2003). These links are also marked by the Urnfield glass beads, which seem to have been originally of Syrian/Phoenician inspiration (GAE, 122–123). During the Greek Dark Age climate changed several times (**fig. 13**). After the optimum around 1200, ca. 1050 came another crisis of dryness, and colder, ca. 900 BC recovery and ca. 800 catastrophic decline in Central Europe.

The Greek name for amber is *elektron*, the same as for alloy of gold and silver the name signifies its value. Amber jewellery went from mother to daughter, as part of dowry in diplomatic marriages, it was kept as part of family treasury, *keimelion*. It may well be also good gift of lover to his fiancé, be exchanged as confirmation of a treaty, and be dedicated to goddesses in their sanctuaries.

The Hordeevka cemetery (Berezanskaja 1998, amber beads here **fig. 104**) shows relations with Central Europe, with the Caucasus area, with the Baltic, and also some with the Balkans (Otroščenko 1998, Kločko 1998, cf. GAE, 179–185). Anyway, this part of western Ukraine participated in the area in which this type of beads was used. The Tiryns and Allumière types beads from Hordeevka are of the same shape and size as those from the Adriatic area and from Greece (Negroni Catacchio 1998, 2000; Hughes-Brock 2003, Bouzek 1997a, 122–123, 2016). It is difficult to find explanation of this phenomenon, but the route between the Black Sea and the Adriatic was also known and considered fluvial one, as known also from the legend on the Argonauts (cf. Rossignoli 2001). The second, Allumière type of amber beads, reminding one of gold spirals, had a similar distribution, and a Tiryns type bead has also been found at Ras Shamra (AAE 172–173, GAE, 122–123). An amber spacer bead reused in the pendant found in the Teke tholos tomb near Knossos also seems to have been a solar symbol (Coldstream 2003, 99–201, fig. 32). But any-

way, the Central European route along Oder, Morava and along the Eastern Alps to *Caput Adriae* was the most important of all; most of amber found in the western Balkans, Italy and Greece apparently came by this route (Naso 2001; Palavestra 1993; cf. Negroni Catacchio 1998; Delpino 2005; Shefton 2001; Naso 2001, Bakarić et alii 2006). The area of the NW Balkans and SE Central Europe also played basic role in the development of weapons and armour of the Late Bronze Age (cf. ch. 2.1) and the symbolics (ch. 2.2), including the bird and cauldron vessels, used at Thessalian Krannon for calling rain and other symbols used a.o. for protection of greaves. Frattesina and other sites at the mouth of Po produced glass beads already for Urnfield Europe (cf. ch. 5.1).

The Greeks during their colonisation period for long time had no chance to settle in the Adriatic more to the north than at Taras and Dyrrhachion (Nava 2004; Cambi – Čače – Kirigin, eds. 2002). Still in later 6th century BC only the best and fastest ships of the Aeginetans established links with Adria and Spina; but even these cities were more Etruscan than Greek. Apulian (Daunian) pottery came to the territory of Croatia quite often, and its patterns were models for the Kalendeberg ornaments and those of the Moravian, Bohemian and Silesian painted wares of Ha C (GAE, 232–233). This pattern of Early Iron Age contact links much resembles the earlier situation, and it may have worked similarly also in the Late Bronze Age (Shefton 2001; GAE 232–237).

The Amber route was an axis for various contacts between north and south, bringing various ideas both ways. Among those coming from the south and among those coming from the north religious movements and pilgrimages took apparently an important role. They prepared what may be called the first European identity already felt during the Bronze Age and during the earliest Iron Age. The bird and cauldron wagons connected the Aegean with Central Europe (Hiller 1989; Bouzek 1977 and 1990c).



Fig. 101: Main Amber routes. 1 amber space beads, 2 amber discs cased with gold, 3 Lusation figure-of-eight gold wire and the Tiryns wheel, 4 suggested main amber routes. After Bouzek 1985, with additions.

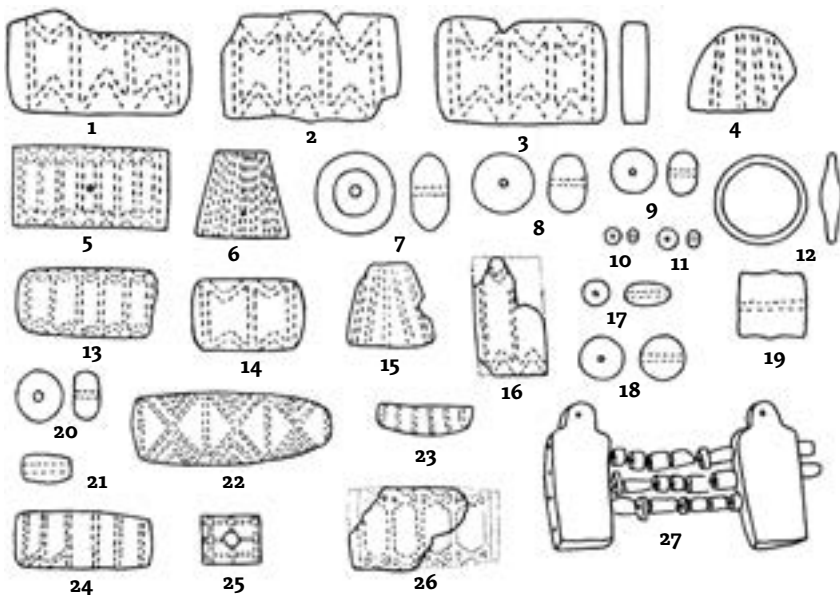


Fig. 102: Amber spacers and other beads. 1–4, 7–11 Mycenae, Shaft Grave B O, 5–6 Kakovatos, tholos Grave A, 12 Knossos, Tomb of the Double Axes, 19 Tiryns, 13–15 and 17–18 Wessex culture, SW England, 16 Knowes of Trotty, Orkney Islands, 20–21 two types of Danish amber beads after Becker, 22–26 South Germany, 27 Velká Dobrá, Bohemia. After Bouzek 1985.

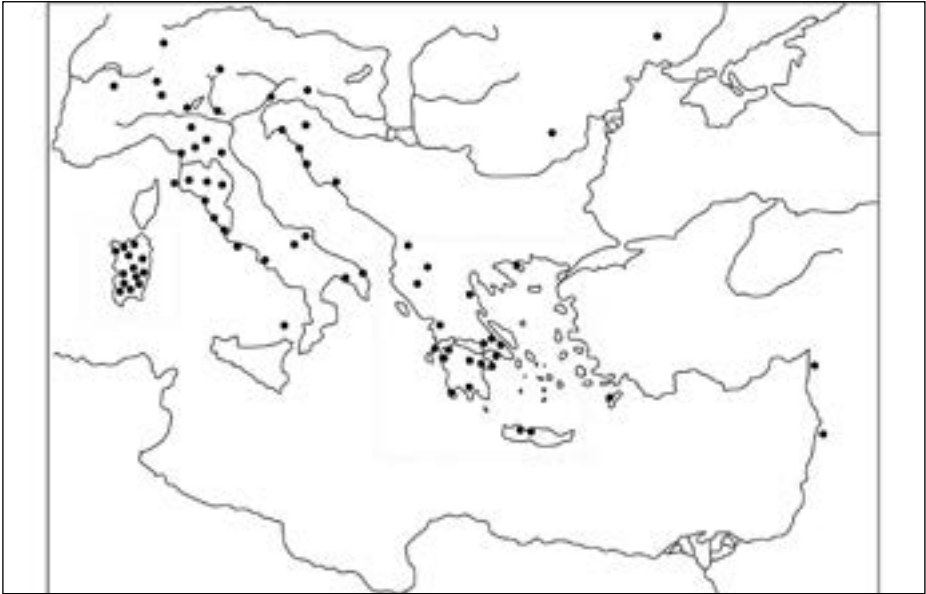


Fig. 103: Generalized distribution of Tiryns and Allumière amber beads. After Negroni Catacchio, map courtesy M. Tisucká.

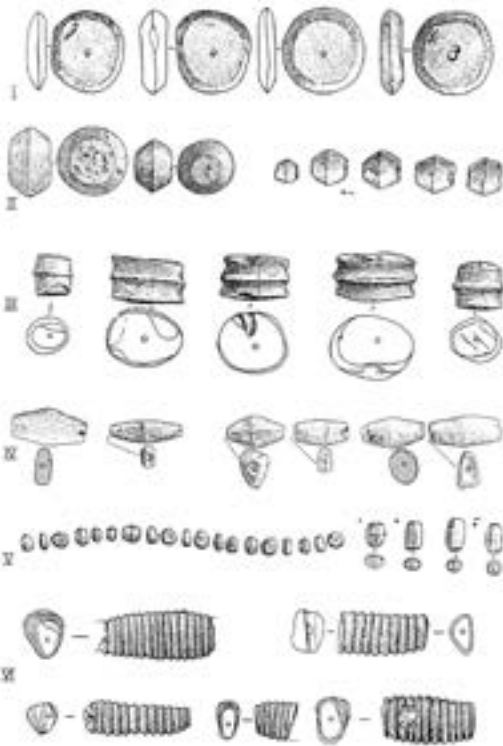


Fig. 104: Hordeevka, amber beads. After Berezanskaja 1998.

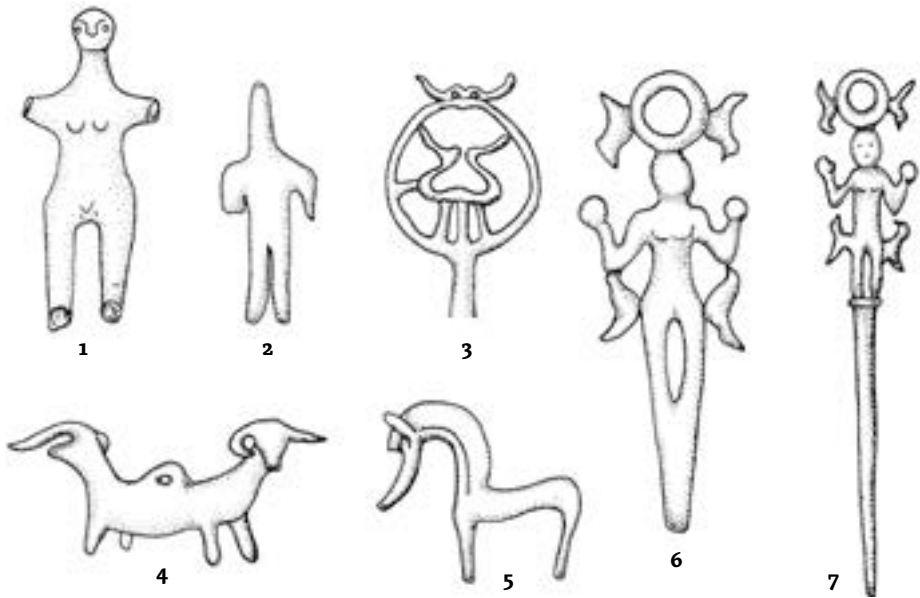


Fig. 105: Italic Early Iron Age figurines. 1–2 Grottaferrata, clay, 3 Grottaferrata, handle of bronze vessel, 4 “east of the Apennines”, 5 Vetulonia, 6 Villanova, 7 Novillara, all bronze.

8.2 KOINE OF EARLY IRON AGE GEOMETRIC STYLES

The *koiné* of Early Iron Age Geometric styles comprizes a large area from the Iranian plateau to the fringes of Western Europe, and it includes the Geometric styles of Greece, Asia Minor, Etruscan Villanova, Sardinia etc., even the rock arts of Scandinavia and the Alps; in the east the North Pontic, Caucasian, Transcaucasian and Luristan branches, with some aspects also Siberia and Northern China.

There were several geometric styles preceding the EIA *koiné*. One in Late Paleolithic transition from “naturalism” to geometrization, the second in Neolithic, when the first human bee-hive dwellings were replaced by houses of rectilinear quadrangular ground-plan, connected with some kind of measuring of fields for cultivation and, eventually, irrigation. Eneolithic art, roughly contemporary with the rise of the first Near Eastern civilisations, marked substantial progress in acquiring deeper knowledge of geometry, and this was expressed, among other things, in the geometry of the pyramids and the ziggurats, in the construction of Cycladic idols and other items of the Early Bronze Age (cf. the general surveys, e.g. Sandars 1985a; for more general questions Jung – Kerényi 1985; Todorov 1980).

In children psychology, the transition from curvilinear to rectilinear drawings is the mark of substantial progress towards abstract thought in the individual child, and it seems that even in human history the geometric styles usually mark a new step towards a more mature stage of the human mind. In a way, for art historians geometrization means a period of decline of the visual arts; it is rather an involution than evolution, but the preparation for a new artistic cycle first requires a period of concentration, which may appear less attractive, but which contains the seeds of future more mature artistic achievements.

The *koiné* of Early Iron Age Geometric styles shows that all its provinces participated not only in accepting new technology, but also the new Early Iron Age mind, whose first stages it reflected. The new mind enabled mastering of the art of cavalry in the east and the roots of a more clever mind, as represented by Odysseus in Greece and by David and Salomon in the Old Testament; these figures were predecessors of those who prepared the slightly later rise of philosophy not only in Greece, but also in India and China.

As earlier in the Eneolithic period or in Late Antiquity the Geometric styles represented periods of involution, and of preparation of new chapter of human history. The *koiné* of Geometric style later gave the way to a more sophisticated, so-called Orientalizing *koiné* of styles, to which belonged the art of the Scythians, Thracians and the Situla art.

In Greece, almost the whole development of Mycenaean art from its Minoan predecessor can be seen as the dissolving and geometrization of origi-

nally naturalistic motifs, gradually replaced by symmetry and by attempts to organize the decoration into a rhythm of fields and dividing members, into a firm rhythmic ductus. Mycenaean artists did not achieve the later degree of geometrical structure fully, but they opened the way to it.

A similar development can be traced in Central Europe. Reinecke in one of his deep insights called the style of the Urnfield period already “Hallstatt”, and, from the beginning of his Ha A, the path towards rectilinear geometrisation began, of which already Ha B, which knew the use of fine chisels and punches of iron for fine decoration, made a decisive step forward. The rhythm of main (field) and arbitrary (framing) members of the friezes, the disappearance of flowing curvilinear decoration and its replacement by a sharper ductus of by intermembers (“triglyphs”) separated main patterns, also emerged gradually in different areas; that of Protovillanovan Italy (**fig. 105**) shows strong ties with the NW Balkans and eastern Central Europe; Central Europe again with the western and southern Balkans.

THE NORTHERN FRINGES OF GREECE AND THE EUROPEAN URN FIELDS

At the northern fringes of Greece some tradition of Middle Helladic Matt Painted Wares continued in local varieties of Mycenaean and it may well be one of the roots of the EIA Matt-Painted Pottery formerly called Bobousti style around the lakes forming recent frontiers of northern Greece. Some part of it is hand-made (Vitsa Zagoriou, Vokotopoulou 1986) and another wheel-turned, but the patterns in both classes are similar. Related artistic provinces of Matt-Painted Pottery (Bouzek 1997a, 151–159) can be traced in Daunian in SE Italy, Phrygia and Northern Iran (**figs. 106–108**). This resemblance uses to be explained by migrations of some Brygi to Phrygia and of Armenians to Transcaucasia, similar patterns appear also on rock carvings of Phrygian tombs. Its Daunian branch in Italy influenced through the area of Croatia and Slovenia the Kalendberg culture and also the vocabulary of other Hallstatt provinces of the Geometric *koine* (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 232–238), from which all other Central European figural arts took their inspiration (Gediga 2002; Eibner 2002; Hallstattkultur 1980).

One of roots of the Geometric *koine* derived from the North and Central European Urnfield cultures. Their common vocabulary in ornaments, in signs depicted and in its structural system, was also the result of the mutual trajectory with the south. Much inspiration was taken over from textile and basketry (Bouzek 1969b), the wooden architecture and xoana (Mazarakis Ainián 1997a, cf. here ch. 22 and 9.2), depiction of birds and solar symbols were inspired from the north (**figs. 37–43**), vocabulary of solar symbols (Kaul

1998; AAE, 176–179) was taken over almost universally: the rosette, the swastika, the solar disc, the birds and bird protomae as part of the solar barque, the horses drawing the chariot of the Sun (**fig. 18**), the stylisation of birds and horses (**fig. 44–45**). The *koiné* of Geometric styles of the EIA in Europe and in large parts of Asia is a complex phenomenon, contemporary with transition from prephilosophical to the philosophical mind (if we use the terminology of Auguste Comte).

One of its backgrounds is the use of iron which tends towards a sharper, stronger expression by its own qualities, and this influence of the new metal can be seen as early as when the first small iron implements in Central and Western Europe were used for incised and punched decoration in bronze since ca. 1000 BC (Drescher 1980; GAE 44–47). They gave it a new hardness, firmness, already at the close of what was still the Bronze Age, together with the impacts from the east (Crowley 1989).

The most developed representatives of this family of styles developed in Greece and in Villanovan Italy, while the Hallstatt styles of Central Europe are its more simple varieties. Reinecke correctly observed that its first stage of development can be put into his stage Hallstatt A, when iron was very little known, but when rectilinear motifs prevailed over the curvilinear, still more popular in Bronze Age D.

The great goddess of the earth, the partner of the solar god in her various aspects, is often depicted in abbreviated form even in vessels with breast-like knobs, and may also be accompanied by birds and animals (**fig. 105.1** and **6**). The Tree of Life was common to many religions, and we find it stylized in many—if not all—styles of our *koiné* (Crowley 1989, cf. here p. 64). The eastern branch of our *koiné* also took over many symbols connected with equitation and cavalry, which was admired by in this field less experienced members of the *koiné*, who also took into their artistic vocabulary much that went with this repertory and was connected with Eurasian shamanism (**figs. 113, 122–124**). In the west, however, these objects became smaller and lost part of their original significance, becoming folklore personal ornaments protecting their bearer against evil forces rather than cult paraphernalia (Bouzek – Ondřejová 1991).

All geometric styles, however, have something to do with geometry. We just mentioned how this represents a reflection of the new Iron Age mind. Multiplication is one of the popular geometrical plays. Thus we have storeyed vessels, multi-storeyed vessels in different provinces, and a similar tendency to multiply e.g. the heads of pins, the knobs on the lids of vessels (**fig. 73**). Another play is to join several vessels together, either in one line, or three joined in a triangle. Various animals and their parts are also joined this way, most notably in Villanovan Italy (Bouzek 1997a, 140–149).

Archaeologically, the discussion deals mainly with bronze objects and pottery. Textile and woodcarvings were apparently more common, and we

must try to keep an eye on both the meagre corpus preserved from the wet sites and on what influenced other materials, like pottery and metalwork; but with the scarcity of textiles and woodcarving in corpore it might be dangerous to proceed too far (Bouzek 1969b,c).

In all areas compared pottery shows a general tendency to clear-cut, “rational” forms, but these parallels are of a very general nature. Pottery decoration offers a more promising field. Incised, stamped and fluted potteries can be discussed briefly, but here we find mainly either too simple and general phenomena, or simply too little evidence compared to the more sophisticated styles of painted potteries in Greece, Etruscan Italy and Anatolia. Still, non-Greek painted potteries and some provinces with richly stamped and incised decoration complete the picture gained from a comparison of painted pottery styles (Bouzek 1997a, 83–90).

Geometric motifs and ornaments were applied to different objects. Two-dimensional representations are known from pottery, stone stelae and from incised and punched (simple repoussé) decoration on bronze sheets (**figs. 15** and **18**), the three-dimensional versions include some specific pottery shapes, like animal vases or those with protomae, and a long row of bronze objects, e.g. globes in openwork, crosses, triquetras, chain pendants, etc. (**fig. 99–100**) resemble them substantially, though other models for their further development also existed: besides the local tradition there was some inspiration coming from the South-East (cf. Crowley 1989). It is interesting to compare the further development of the common model in various areas. While in Central Europe the simple stick-like linear Hallstatt stylisation was the result of a development from earlier less articulated forms, the Villanovan artists played with multiplication, joining elements and various additions (Hencken 1961); in Greece the path lead towards a more true and sophisticated, more “realistic” depiction of men and animals (Coldstream 2003), reflecting strict geometrical orientation along the three basic directions of three-dimensional space (Himmelfmann 1968; Bouzek 1997a, 140–150).

Greek Geometric art surpassed all other provinces in creating a sophisticated system of proportional relations systemizing the whole into a holistic unit of a decorated vase, and tried to perform this service for the representation of the universe, as on the shield of Achilles (**fig. 71**). In two-dimensional art, the first human and animal representations on Greek pottery resemble those in the rock art of Scandinavia and the Alpine regions, but it soon became model for simpler Geometric pottery styles in Italy and the western Mediterranean.

Parallels can also be traced in the similar evolution of the Caucasian cultures, whose Geometric style shows analogous predecessors (Lordkipanidze 1991, 70–92), and Vanden Berghe’s chronology of the so-called Luristan culture (**fig. 125.1–7**) made a similar process clear also for the Iranian moun-

tains (Vanden Berghe 1981). The so-called pre-Cimmerian bronzes of Ha A 1 in eastern Central Europe (**fig. 113**) and a reciprocal influence from the Carpathian area in the North Caucasian development, were followed by the Cimmerian Geometric (**figs. 114–116**, cf. Bouzek 1997a, 202–207; 2012a; 2013). In late second millennium the group of so-called pre-Cimmerian bronzes (**fig. 113**) brought impulses from the east, while the North Pontic Belozerka and the Caucasian region took other impulses from the west (Bouzek 2013d and 1983, GAE 187–204).

In the west, men and animals are rarely depicted in motion, while this is more often in the east, where the more intensively perceived energy of wild animals, and also of the nomads often engaged in battles, had to be depicted in more expressive manner: the most sophisticated and informative category of this artistic province is that of the Transcaucasian belt engravings (Chidaseli 1986; Essayan 1984, **fig. 119**) and Caucasian bronze figurines, while there is less pictorial representation in the “Cimmerian” art proper and in its western outlets (Bouzek 1997a, 179–207). The arts of the mountain peoples of Iran, most notably the Luristan bronzes combine dramatic expression with some magic and are influenced by higher neighbouring civilisations (cf. for ex. Moorey 1974 and Potratz 1968). The eastern Geometric art was, in its way, a similar predecessor of the later Animal Style of the Scythians, as the Greek Geometric and Villanovan arts were predecessors of the so-called Orientalizing arts in Greece and Etruria; the Late Geometric “*Flächenstil*” developed in a similar way in Greece and the Caucasus area and parallel developments can be seen also in the Balkans (**fig. 109–111, 119**).

The Cimmerian and Thraco-Cimmerian bronze items are connected with the new mastery of horsemanship and its ideology, including some kind of shamanismus (cf. above ch. 7). Map (**fig 114**) shows the distribution of Cimmerian sites and of those of their neighbours, figures their bridles, bimetallic daggers, standarts and decorative objects including Maltese crosses and openwork rattles (bird cage bronzes, **fig. 122–124**).

The so-called Thracian bronzes known mainly from Central Thrace belong here (**fig. 100.1–4, 110**) and, most notably, the Macedonian bronzes of the 8th and 7th centuries BC, with their centre of distribution along the Axios valley (Bouzek 1974, here ch. 7) and the Caucasian region (Bouzek 2012, 2013). On the engraved sheet bronze the motifs are usually arranged into fields and friezes, framed horizontally and vertically, and treated as part of the ornament, like on Greek Geometric vases of the Ripe and Late phases (Hampe 1952). Quite often the figural representation may give a clue to abstract motifs similarly arranged, and probably transmitted this message to those who understood the signs. The bird cage finials and pendants were, sometimes as rattles, popular from Northern China to Spain and Britain (**figs. 122–124**, cf. Bouzek 1997a, 202–205, Schüle 1969).

The *koine* of Geometric styles reflects the beginnings of a new kind of mind, but it cannot be considered without taking into consideration other, non-artistic phenomena of the culture of the time. The class of noble warriors acted as individuals able to join forces not only according to blood relations, but also by means of the *Gefolgschaft* system. It existed all over this *koine*, but in the east they were cavaliers, in the west charioteers.

The eastern province with cavalry as the main military force included the Pontic steppes, Transcaucasia and the northern part of Iran. Its western boundary was in the Balkans. Short swords or daggers (**fig. 118**) and bows with arrows were the principal weapons: the spear was less substantial. The protective armour was mainly of leather, belts with metallic elements were part of military dress.¹

The Central European/Italic and Early Greek *koine* of weaponry shows a continuation of its Late Bronze Age predecessor (cf. GAE 104–120). The later stage of the *koine* still included Dark Age Italy and Greece, the western Balkans, Central Europe from eastern France to Poland and Romania, and southern Scandinavia. Most of the swords used (mainly made of iron in Greece since 1000 BC, of bronze in other areas) derived from the Naue II type tradition: in central and northern Europe they also often appear with a full-grip cast of bronze. With the sword, two spears were often used (one of them mainly as a javelin).² The protective armour consisted of a helmet, corslet, shield and greaves, usually of leather, but occasionally of sheet bronze. This weaponry and armour remained in existence until the end of the 7th century in the south and even hundred years later in the north. Some eastern elements developed for cavalry were taken over from the eastern province, but not many, while some Near Eastern models were adopted in the weaponry of the western Mediterranean, apparently under Phoenician influence. Figured scenes display heroic deeds and life of noble women (**figs. 111–112**).

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- 1 Shields often of wood, cf. after GAE 90–95 notably Uckelmann 2013 and Überlegungen zum Ursprung einer Ornamentform der Bronzezeit, in *Durch die Zeiten*, Festschr. A. Jockenhövel, 2008, 259–268.
 - 2 Cf. AAE 41, 135–141, GAE 105, Avilla 1983. Some varieties specific for area around the Alps Salač, 2016, 202–223.

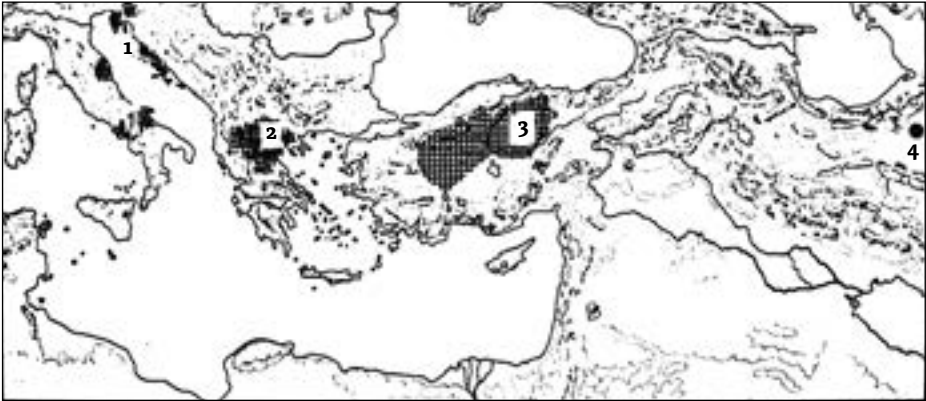


Fig. 106: Distribution of Matt-Painted Pottery. 1 Apulian and related, 2 SW Balkan ("Brygian"), 3 Phrygian, 4 Tepe Sialk B. After GAE.



Fig. 107: Decorated motifs of the Thessalian matt painted handmade ware, Marmariani. After GAE.

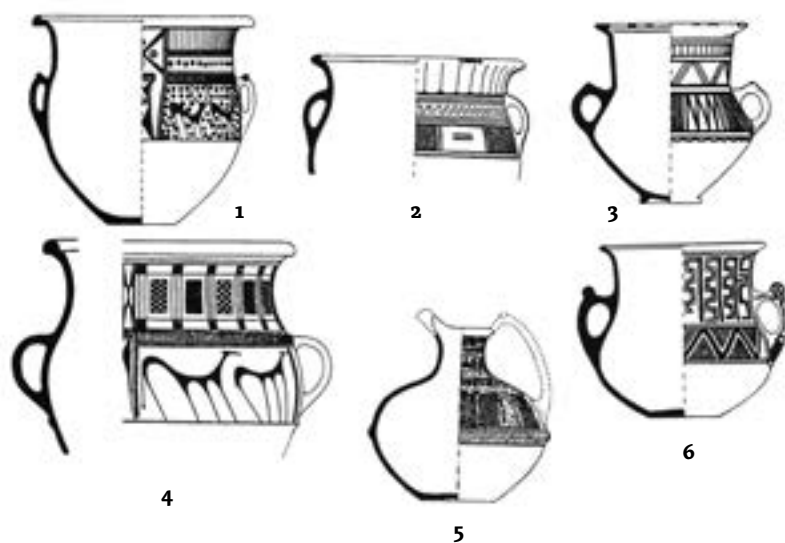


Fig. 108: Phrygian painted pottery from Alisar. After GAE.

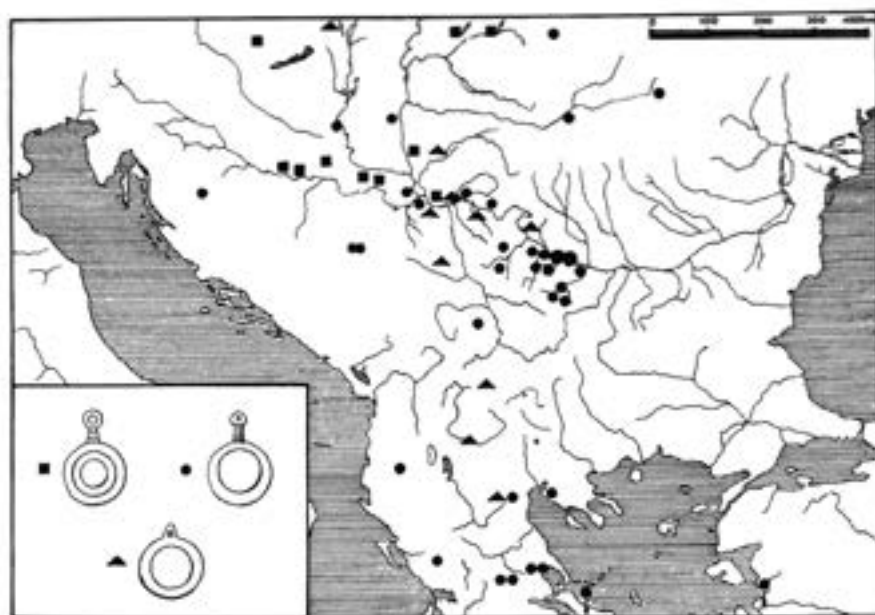


Fig. 109: Distribution of ring pendants. After Vasić, added the set of the Marvinci priestess.

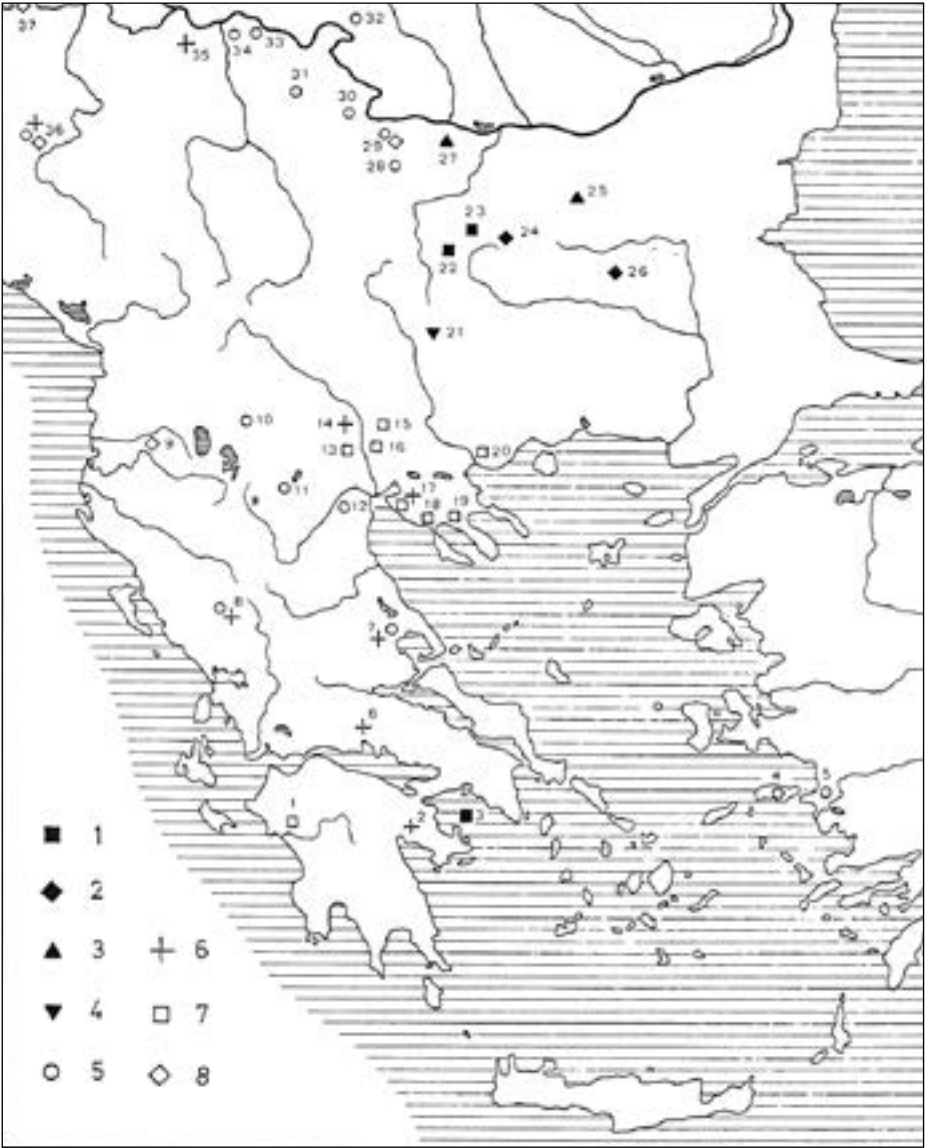


Fig. 110: Distribution of Thracian bronzes(1-4), ring pendants (5), hollow crosses for crossing of straps (6), Macedonian buttons with 6-8 petals (7) and related (8). After MB II.

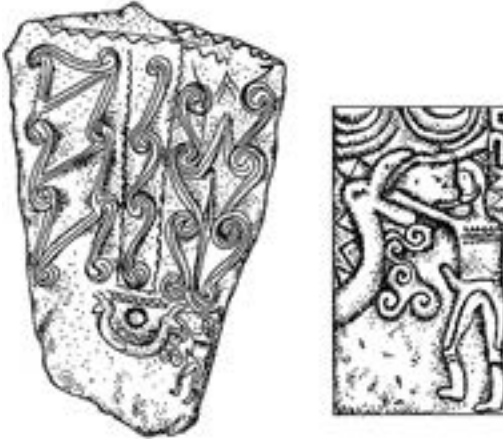


Fig. 111: Engraved stone stele from Razlog in Bulgaria, and detail. After GAE.

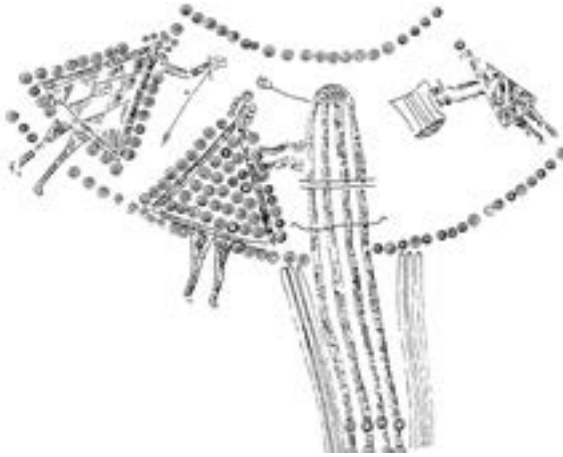


Fig. 112: Sopron: spinning and weaving women entertained by music. After GAE.

8.3 CENTRAL EUROPE AND CAUCASUS IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

THE PREDECESSORS

The area between the Carpathians and the Caucasus, north of the Black Sea, was mainly steppe, and the steppe was rather free country. In the famous passage of Herodotus on Scythians, in which the question of the Persian envoy: Why you do not fight to protect your country?—the Scythians answered that they have neither cities nor agricultural land to fight for (Herod. 4, 127). Steppe was for the nomads nearly like desert or sea: free space across which various groups could move rather freely with their herds. This concerned the steppe, not the forest-steppe north of it, and in this southern zone only the periods in which agriculture was not developed. We may remember the Neolithic Precucuteni-Tripolje culture in its early stages, and, partly, the Sabatinovka culture of the advanced Bronze Age. Otherwise, the bearers of the Kurgan (Pit and Catacomb cultures, as well as the earliest Srubno culture), were largely pastoralist peoples without permanent settlements (cf. now esp. Apakidze et alii, eds. 2009).

The horses became common domestic animals since Eneolithic in temperate zone of Europe and Asia and they draw wagons. The relations between the Caucasus and Central Europe in the Eneolithic were also connected with horses, as shown by the mace-heads in shape of horse head, besides other objects and pottery with impressions of cord, etc. Since ca. 2000 BC also light-wheeled chariots were used for military purposes. Mitanni and Hyksos invading Egypt were among the first who used war chariots on a large scale successfully, but the real nomads in the full sense of this word only developed together with the mastery of horse riding, in which rider ca. fully impose his will to the horse (cf. Hänsel – Machnik, eds. 1998, Schauer, ed. 1998). This level of horsemanship was developed in the steppes north of the Caucasus and first widely used by two groups of Pontic nomads, first by the Cimmerians and later by the Scythians as well. Contemporary with the nomads of the European steppe were other groups between the Ural and northern China; many Early Iron Age particles of horse harness are distributed from northern China (Ordos area) to Europe (cf. esp. Maoqinggou, Höllmann – Kosack 1992). The horse was for the nomads the basic means of transport, source of food, and the main force of their military equipment. The riding enabled much faster transport of men and women across large distances than it was possible by foot, means accessible to large groups of people, not only to their leaders, like the earlier chariots.

The developed Srubno culture of the North Pontic area was divided (first by A. I. Terenožkin) into an earlier Sabatinovka culture, and a later Belozerka group (Terenožkin 1965). The Sabatinovka culture represented a floruit of the Pontic Late Bronze Age civilisation, with large-scale agricultural activity and sophisticated metallurgy, while the Belozerka stage showed more modest occupation concentrated along the main rivers only, as the steppe dried up. The Sabatinovka culture can best be compared with Ha A 2. This concerns also the cheek-pieces of horse-bits, like one from Susanskoje, with parallels in Central European Ha A 1–2 (Gedl 1994, Otroščenko 1998, Koločko 1998, Kemenczei 1985, 1996).

Very important for external relations both to west and east is the evidence of the Hordeevka cemetery in western Ukraine (Berezanskaja 1998). The amber beads of the Tiryns and Alumière types show relations with Greece and Italy (**fig. 104**), other items with Central Europe and with the east. Of particular importance are also the results of excavations of Valentina Kozenkova in the Caucasus area, the Zmejskoe settlement and the Seržen Jurt cemetery (Kozenkova 1977, 1989, 1992, 1999), and those of the Tli cemetery in the central Caucasus (southern Ossetia, Techov 1980, 1981, 1985, Pruss 1993–1994). A selection of Caucasian objects with good parallels in Ha A–B Central Europe, Italy and Greece is illustrated on **figs. 113** and **115**.

The Belozerka fibulae represent in the North Pontic area a phenomenon to some degree exceptional, as are also other characteristics of the Belozerka culture. Their general survey of them, notably of those from the Moldova and the western Ukraine, was published by a number of scholars; most recently Vančugov (2008) brings an exhaustive survey of the Belozerka fibulae. The violin-bow fibulae with double loop come from Lukaševski kurgan, Širokoe and Strumok, the knee-shaped from Kazaklia, Strumok, Sepnoj, and Saharna, the early bow-shaped variety from Stepnoj and Kazaklia, the snake-shaped from Lukaševskoe poselenie. All came from female graves, which also contained amber and glass beads (Vančugov 2008, 210–214). They can be roughly compared to the Submycenaean fibulae in Greece (**fig. 16**), but they are simpler in execution and apparently local products, though not without southern and western inspiration (Bouzek 2011d). This all allows a similar date for the Ukrainian fibulae, so it seems to be more plausible to put the transition Sabatinovka/Belozerka to ca. 1100 BC (cf. Otroščenko 1998, Vančugov 1996). While the Belozerka people still partly employed agriculture, the successive Cimmerian culture was typical for the nomads. The Cimmerian culture belonged to the *koine* of Geometric styles, but here the newly accomplished art of riding was in foreground. The Caucasian fibulae are more closely connected with the Greek series (Bouzek 1983, 204–205, here **fig. 115**).

HORSE AND RIDING, NOMADISM

Horse was an animal much admired in Greek and even other Indo-European mythologies. The winged horse Pegasus helped Perseus to win his victory over Gorgon and also over the sea dragon menacing Andromeda, thus opening the way into the new Iron Age. Pegasus represented wisdom inspiring poetry, and the connection of the horse with the forces of wisdom was equally valid for “normal” horses. The nomadism in the full sense of the word, as described for ex. by Strabo (Geogr. 7, 3, 7 and 17, 4, 6) only became possible with the horse-riding in the steppes. It concerned cattle herdsman. Cattle, horses and camels prefer long grass, sheep and goats the short one, and also do not move rapidly enough for real nomads.

This great invention in human history developed in the first centuries of the last millennium BC: the first masters emerged in the area north of Caucasus and the Black and Caspian seas. From the 9th century BC on the Assyrian army employed cavalry using bow and arrow. The groups of mounted warrior and squire in Assyrian reliefs show that the Assyrian army adapted the old system of charioteer and warrior to the new cavalry. But the innovation brought a decisive striking force only after the refinement of horse harnessing and skill of riding.

9th–8th centuries BC saw the first successful attacks by mounted warriors, first in temperate Europe, and later, in 8th–7th century BC, in Anatolia and the Near East. The military success of the Cimmerian and Scythian raids in the Near East struck fear anywhere: even the Jewish prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah used the simile of their raids (Gumurru) as examples of the worst menace for their compatriots.

Of course the mastery of riding was one of the achievements of the new Iron Age mind, of whose employment the Greeks were the protagonists, but just this particular role in the Early Iron Age drama was performed by the Pontic nomads, and the Greek only slowly followed their models. Archaeologically, the area of the Eurasian steppes and neighbouring countries both in the west and the east (China) is marked by identical or similar types of harness: horse-bits (**fig. 117.4**), other metallic parts used for keeping leather straps in position, where they cross each other (**fig. 117.7**), and for decoration (phalerae, **fig. 117.5**, rattles (**figs. 122–124**) and the like (cf. Bouzek 1997a—GAE, 179–203).

The vast Eurasian area is also marked by horse burials. The sacrifice of horses to the dead, whose soul they should accompany, is sometimes marked only symbolically by placing bridles or yokes with the funeral chariot in the grave (most of the Hallstatt burials), while the cases of sacrificing horses in the kind described by Herodotus (IV, 72) cannot be revealed archaeologically.

Still, the area of distribution of horse burials is immense, reaching from China to Europe. The first horse burials in the Pontic area date from the 3rd millennium BC, and not much later they also appear in Greece (the Middle Helladic Marathon tumulus) and in the Middle East. From Dark Age Greece, we have first the Lefkandi Hero of the 10th century, but the majority of examples everywhere date from 8th to 4th century BC.

Nearly as large as the distribution of horse burials is that of the specific types of Early Iron Age horse-bits. The so-called North Caucasian types after Potratz (=all Jessen's types and also those of Kosack, here **fig. 117.4**) are enabling finer leading of the horse than the earlier types of the Bronze Age (Trancaucasian types after Potratz 1968, cf. Podborský 1970), which were mainly destined for the team of horses drawing a chariot. On the Hungarian plain, these nomads found a land similar to their steppe and they seem to have stayed there for some time, before being absorbed by the local population, but their raids seem to reach (like those of later Huns, Hungarians and Tatars) even France, and their impact was also felt in Spain.

Mounted warriors brought to their neighbours not only their skill in cavalry warfare, but also their beliefs, connected with the Eurasian Animal style and with shamanism (Raevskij 1975, Eliade 1958). The first, Geometric stage of this style was transmitted by the Cimmerians and their allies. Among the objects connected with shamanism, rattles and bells, partly in openwork, may be named, further the so-called "jug-stoppers" known in the Caucasian and Macedonian schools of bronzework (**pl. B 4.1-3**), the crosswise objects characteristic for the Cimmerians (**pl. A 7, 8; fig. 117.3, 7**), mace heads and pendants with protrusions (**figs. 117.2 and 6**) and wheels with spokes (**figs. 99.24, 27 and 28**). Admiration for the successful cavalry brought not only imitation of the way of life of the Cimmerians by the leading military aristocracies of European Final Bronze Age and Early Hallstatt cultures, but also admiration for their beliefs: some symbolic motifs used in shamanistic rituals were transformed into personal ornaments (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 197-205 and 2007, Mitrevski 1991; here **figs. 123-124**). The majority of the European and Greek Early Iron Age bits derive from the "North Caucasian-Cimmerian" series, which penetrated into large parts of Europe, as studied by A. A. Jessen (Jessen 1952), G. Kossack (Kossack 1980), V. Podborský (Podborský 1970): the types Jessen I and III and the Szentes-Vekerzug horse-bits (**figs. 117.4 and 114.2**) were also known in some parts of western Europe, including Spain (Bouzek 1997a, 197-199). It may be resumed that the nomadic impact of 10th-9th century BC, deriving from "Cimmerian" raids, affected large parts of Europe and established another aspect of the *koine* of Early Iron Age Geometric styles, connected with horses and riding; this impact also inspired the life style of the new Hallstatt C aristocracy in large parts of temperate Europe.

CIMMERIANS AND “THRACO-CIMMERIANS”

The main period of Central European contacts with the Caucasus area is the period of “Cimmerian” raids and the beginning of the Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes in Central Europe, which has been dated independently by G. Kossack (1980) and myself (1973, 1974) to the 9th century BC, a date now further raised to late 10th century by dendrochronological studies in Switzerland and Germany. These are not much earlier than the dates given by A. I. Terenožkin (1976, 1981) for the earlier of both Cimmerian stages (Černogorovka, 900–750 BC), while the later stage Novočerkassk (after the Novočerkasskij klad) should be dated, according to him, ca. 750–650 BC, a date which may also be probably slightly raised. The Thraco-Cimmerian objects in the eastern part of Central Europe are, according to Müller-Karpe’s chronology, typical for Ha B 3, but also the nearly complete absence of typical Ha B 2 hoards east of Bavaria suggested an earlier date for their arrival.

The Cimmerian culture, as defined by Terenožkin (1976), had several roots: one of them was local, a certain degree of tradition from the previous Belozerka phase, a second was in the Caucasian (Koban culture) tradition, the third in the Volga-Kama area (Chalikov 1977) and a fourth in the Ananino culture and the Minussinsk area. This all suggest that the bulk of the cultural phenomena of the Cimmerian culture was of a similar nomadic descent as the later culture of the Scythians. The stelae (so-called stag-stones) and the daggers (**fig. 118**, map **fig. 114.1**) show eastern links, most other bronze objects, including mace-heads with figural motifs (**fig. 117.2, 6; pl. A7.7–8**), link the Cimmerians with the Koban culture, while pottery seems to show some degree of local Pontic tradition of the Belozerka phase. Graves of both stages of the Cimmerian culture are distributed over vast territories from the Kuban and Volga-Kama area over the Crimea, Ukraine and Moldavia to north-eastern Bulgaria (Belogradec, Endža, **fig. 117.2, 6; pl. A7.7–8**). The most characteristic objects are daggers of the Gamów-Berezovka types, of horse bits of the North Caucasian types according to Potratz, particular arrowheads and less specific spearheads (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 194–196, Ivantchik 2001). Decorative parts of horse harness and personal ornaments are rare. Rattles in openwork (**figs. 122–124**) were probably ritual objects, and Maltese crosses seem to have possessed a particular symbolic significance (**fig. 99.22–28; 127.3**), perhaps solar (understandable with a northern people neighbours to the mythical Hyperboreans, cf. Diod. Sic. 2, 47), or perhaps representing the centre of the universe, of the four-sided world like in Scythian mythology (Raevskij 1979). G. Kossack in a paper presented to the Schlesswig conference in 1991 found models of this ornament on Assyrian reliefs, which may be correct, but it does not explain the particular meaning of the motif in the Cimmerian culture (Kossack 1994). The Cimmerian mounted warriors were the leading force in

the movement to Central Europe. The Mezöcsád culture is the archaeological name for the central region of this nomadic entity in the Hungarian basin, its impact in other parts of Central Europe is known under the name “Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes”; in both cases Cimmerian and Caucasian relations are clearly traceable (Kemenczei 1985, 1996, Kalicz – Koós 1998, Metzger – Nebelsick 1998, 2004, Machortych 1998, Smirnova 1998; here **figs. 114, 116, 122–123**).

LITERARY SOURCES ON CIMMERIANS AND ARCHAEOLOGY

There are two main groups of literary sources for the Cimmerians: Near Eastern and Greek. The former are mainly contemporary documents on wars within the Assyrian border zone, the latter mostly stories taken over from old traditions or memories. Both are mainly concerned with those aspects of Cimmerian history which directly affected the civilized world, i.e. there are viewed from angle different from their position. For Homer (*Odyssey* I, 14) the Cimmerians were a people living in a mythical land of fog and darkness, on the fringes of the inhabitable world (cf. Strabo I, 2, 9). The first references on the Cimmerians with the Assyrians date from 722–713. In a letter, Sancherib informs his father Sargon II about the presence of Cimmerians in the region of Urartu, and Scythians are also mentioned. During the reign of Sancherib (705–681 BC) the Cimmerians attacked Asia Minor and destroyed the Phrygian empire: the Phrygian king Midas committed suicide (cf. Herod. I, 6, 15). This presumably happened in 696/695 BC (Eusebius’ date) although a date twenty years later cannot be excluded. American excavations at Gordion uncovered considerable destructions (dated, however, by C14 much earlier), but no characteristic “Cimmerian” objects. A group of Cimmerians probably settled for some time near Sinope, and Asarhaddon mentions an Assyrian victory over them in 679 BC. The military leader of the Cimmerians in their 679/678 campaign is called Tušpa in Assyrian records.

Another group of Cimmerians probably entered Anatolia from Thrace. This is suggested by Strabo, when he speaks about an alliance between the Cimmerians and the Thracian Treres and Edoni (for Treres Str. I, 1, 10, I, 3, 21, VII frgs. 11 and 36, for Edoni cf. XII, 3, 34, XII, 8, 7 and XIII, 4, 8), tribes later living in Central Bulgaria (Treres), in the area of the Thracian bronzes (map **fig. 114.5** and **fig. 100.1–3**) and in Chalcidice (Edoni), where the Macedonian bronzes developed (map **fig. 98** and **fig. 99 right, fig. 95–97**; cf. Bouzek 1974, 2007a). Lydian king Gyges even sought aid against them from Assurbanipal. A second attack on Lydia in 652 BC was successful. Sardis (with the exception of the citadel) was sacked and Gyges killed.

The traces of similar horsemen impact on the Mezöcsád culture in the Hungarian basin and in the Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes are not recorded in written sources, but traceable archaeologically. Herodotus explicitly men-

tions Tyras (Dniester) in present-time Moldova as the place where the Cimmerian kings fought a fratricidal battle and were buried, and from where the common people left their homes. After this, Herodotus describes the escape of the remainder of the Cimmerians along the Black Sea west of the Caucasus to the area of Sinope (IV, 12), and this may be the story of one of their main military forces, while other rather moved westwards. Strabo's reference to the Cimmerians joining forces with the Thracian Treres and Edoni (cf. above p. 227) makes it highly probable that some Cimmerians moved west from the Pontic steppes. The Edoni and Paeonians shared the territory where the first canonical Macedonian bronzes with Caucasian relations started, and this could not have happened much after 800 BC. The Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes in the eastern part of Central Europe originated ca. 900 BC, i.e. about 150 years earlier than the first Assyrian reports of Cimmerians in the region of Urartu (Bouzek 2007b; here p. 203–204).

The leader of the Cimmerian troops in 652 BC is named Lygdamis in Greek sources, and there is a parallel name Tugdamme in the Assyrian records. According to Strabo, Lygdamis was later killed in Cilicia, and Assyrian archives probably confirm this report. This happened between 637 and 625 BC and the second foundation of Sinope in ca. 630 BC may probably be a result of the defeat of the Cimmerians. Herodotus, however, mentions (I, 16) that the last Cimmerians were only driven out of Asia Minor by Alyattes, in about 600 BC. The Scythians, who followed them, were lords of Urartu between 625 and 585 BC, and their Near Eastern campaign lasted, according to Herodotus (IV, 1), 28 years. The “Pre-Scythian” arrowheads and other objects usually ascribed to the Cimmerians (rather than to Early Scythians, cf. Bouzek 2007b, were found in several sites in Anatolia (cf. map **fig. 114**).

If we restrict the name Cimmerians to military bands invading Anatolia and the Near East (Lafranchi 1990, Ivančik 1993, Sauter 2000), we do not respect other Greek sources mentioning of them in the Pontic area. By the latter sources we are entitled to use the name of the Cimmerians in a sense similar to that Herodotus used the name Scythians, in rather general terms. This would also allow us to explain why their military attacks in Europe brought similar impulses there as those of the Scythians two centuries later. To reject other sources and stick only to Assyrian records, or to reduce their story only to its latest phase, and cut off the Černogorovka-Novočerkassk complex from their material heritage, creates more problems than it solves. The traditional explanation still seems to be more reasonable than later attempts to change it, which only respect some select part of the available archaeological and literary evidence. It should, however, be reminded that the first Kelermes tumuli contain Novočerkassk type offering; the transition from Cimmerian to Scythian style was fluent (Galanina 1997, Dubovskaja 1997, Bouzek 2001).

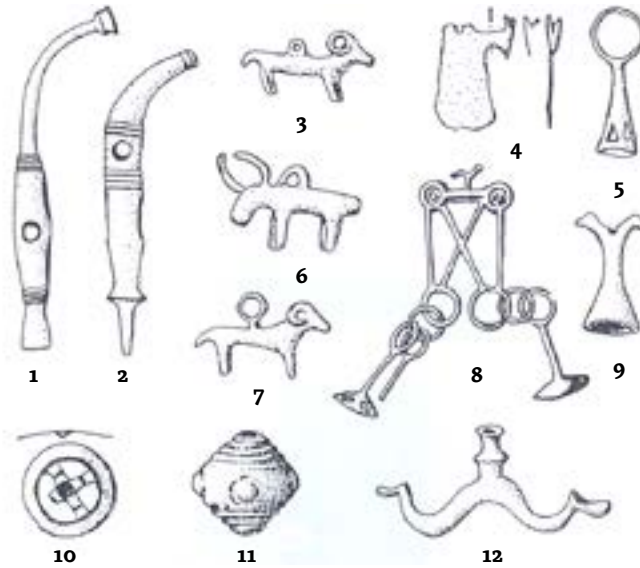


Fig. 113: “Pre-Cimmerian” bronzes in Europe. 1–2 cheek pieces of horse-bits from Staré Sedlo in Bohemia and Larnaud in France, 3, 6–7 animal figurines from Orsova in Transylvania, Poljanci and Battina in Croatia, 4 Thracian axe pendant in Mus. Benaki, 5 bell-shaped pendant from Brodski Varoš, 8 chain pendant with birds from Bingula-Divoš, 9–12 pole-tops (?) wheel button and bead from Brodski Varoš. After GAE.



Fig. 114: Generalized map of distribution of Cimmerian and related bronzes. 1 bimetallic daggers, 2 horse-bits, 3 sceptres, 4 “Cimmerian” arrowheads in Asia Minor, 5 Thracian bronzes, 6 other Cimmerian finds from the Pontic area. MB – area of the Macedonian bronzes, K – Koban and Kuban (Proto-Meotic) cultures, TC – Central Transcaucasian group, C – Colchis. After GAE.

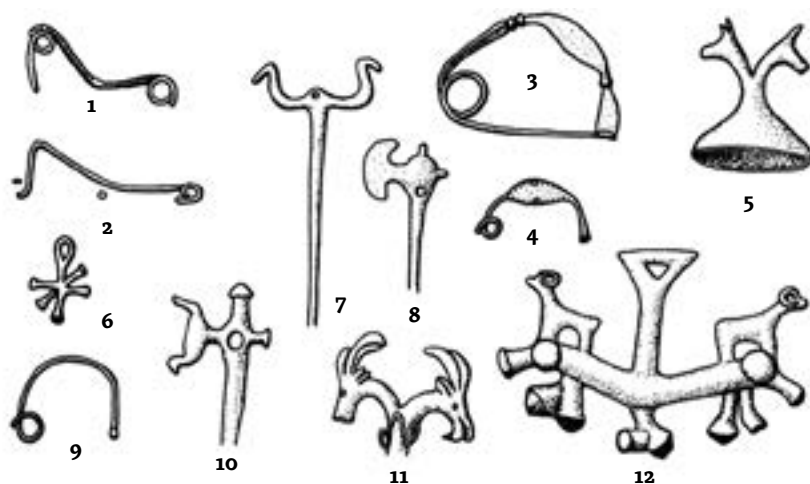


Fig. 115: Late Bronze Age, western elements in North Pontic and Caucasus areas. 1 Lukaševka, Moldova, 2, 7–8, 10–11 Koban culture: 2 Zmejskoe, 7 Styrgaz, 8 and 10 Tli, 11 Seržen Jurt, 3–4, 6, 12 Colchis, 3 Novyj Afona, 4, 6 and 9 Abarchuk, 5 and 12 Eščeri. After GAE.

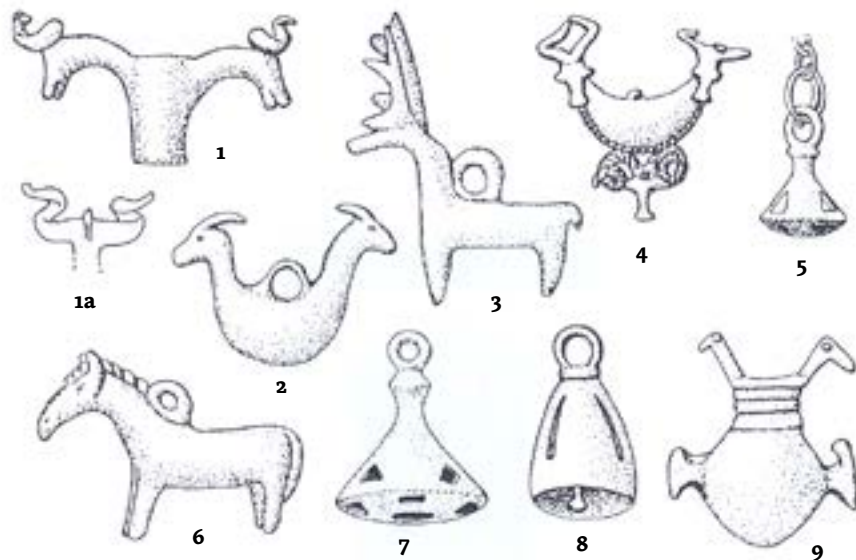


Fig. 116: The Koban culture bronze objects from Upper Caucasus. 1 Kazbek treasure, 2 Chrtnos, 3 and 6 Koban, 4 Kumbulta, 5 and 7 Upper Kuban, 6 Samtavro, 8 Suagrom. After GAE.

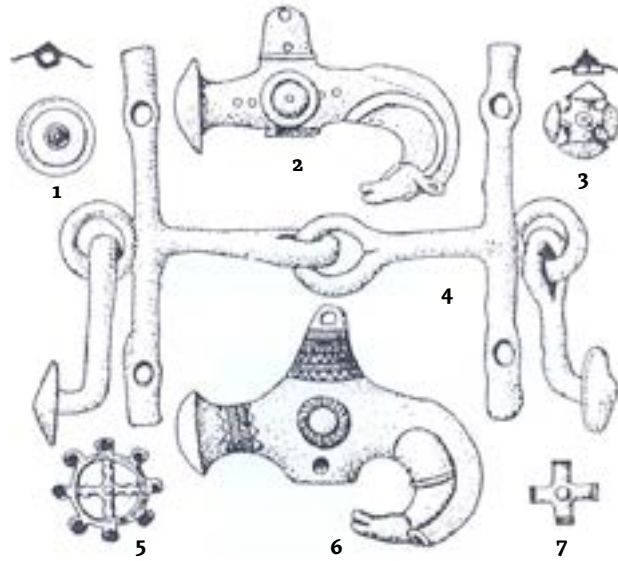


Fig. 117: Thraco-Cimmerian horse bit (4), sceptres (2 ad 6), buttons (1, 3, 5) and cross-shaped tubular object (7). 1 and 6 Adaševci in Croatia, 2 and 4 Sárvíz canal and Ugra, 5 and 7 Nagyenyed-Kakasdomb (all Hungary), 6 Turiec area, Slovakia. After GAE.

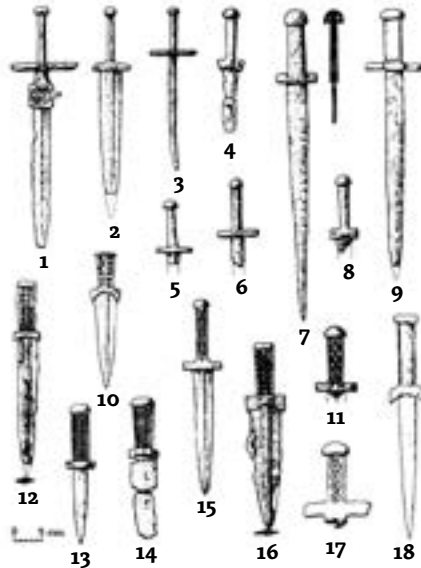


Fig. 118: Bimetallic daggers. 1-9 type Golovjatino-Leibnitz: 1 Leibnitz, Austria, 2 Klein Neundorf, Lausitz, 3 Panad, Romania, 4 Kamenomostskoe, Ukraine, 5 Brigetio-Komárom, Hungary, 6 Demkino, Volga area, 7 near Kiev, 8 Keskem, 9 Biljarsk, Russia; 10-18 type Gamów-Berezovka: 10 Abadzechskaja, 11 Kotouč near Štramberg, Moravia, 12 and 16 Achmolovskij mogilnik, Upper Mari region, 13 Tatarskoe Burnaševo near Kujbyšev, 14 Blagodarnoe, reg. Otradno, 15 Gamów, Poland, 17 Kolca Gora near Kislovodsk, 18 Vysokaja mogila near Chisinau, Moldova. After GAE.



Fig. 119: Bronze belts with animals and hunters from Samtavro, grave C 59 and Sagaredzo grave 5. After Chidašeli 1986 and GAE.

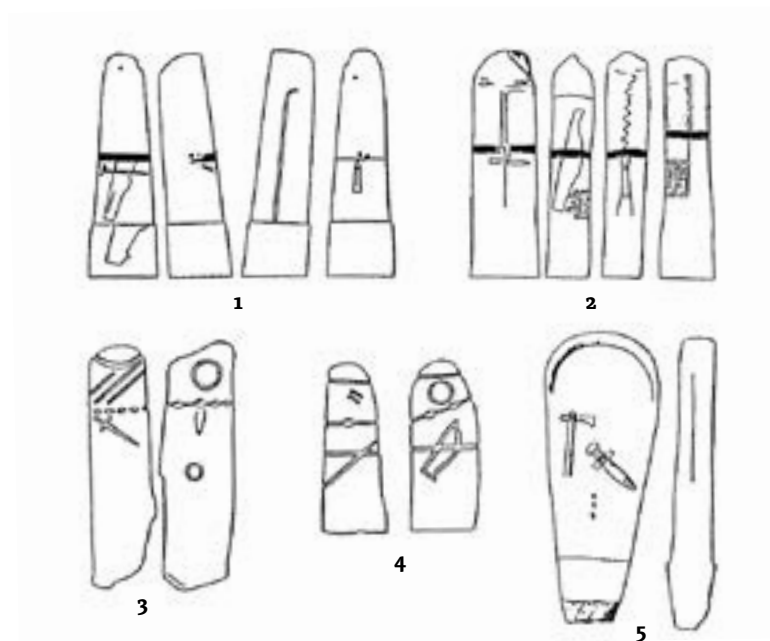


Fig. 120: Cimmerian stelae ("stag-stones"). 1 Olbia, 2 Belogradec near Varna, 3 Sosnovka, Tuva, 4 Gumarevo, reg. Orenburg, 5 Novo Mordovo, Middle Volga region. After GAE.

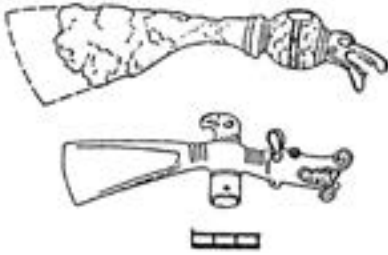


Fig. 121: Axes from Kaliště-Bezděkov near Pilsen, and the Ananino culture near Ural. After V. Šaldová and GAE.

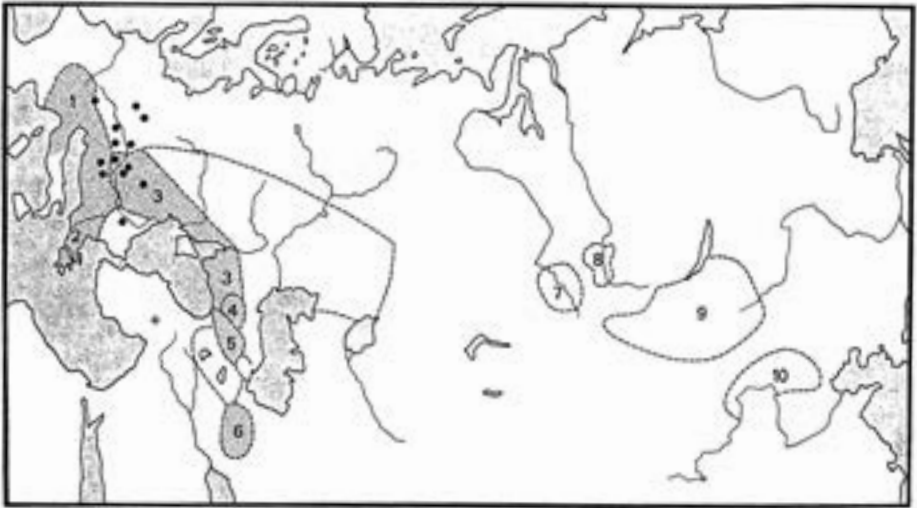


Fig. 122: Distribution of bird-cage bronzes in Upper Eurasia, after GAE.

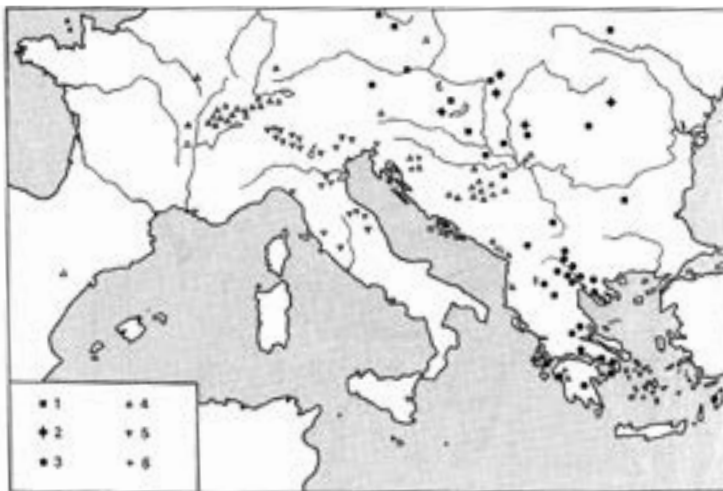


Fig. 123: Distribution of bird-cage bronzes in Europe. 1-2 Thrako-Cimmerian bronzes, 3 Macedonian bronzes, 4 and 5 West Balkan (Illyrian), Italic and West Alpine groups. After GAE.

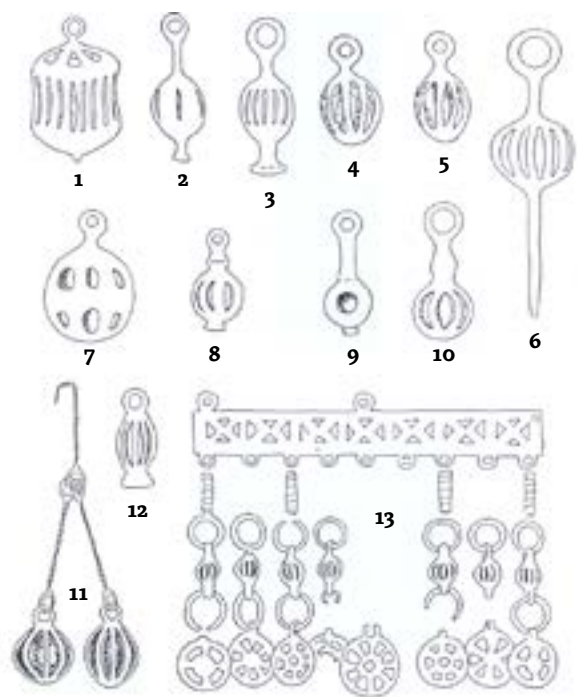


Fig. 124: Bird cage bronzes from Glasinac (1–5), Pečina in Bosnia (6), Italy (7 Bologna, 8 Syracuse, 9 C’a Morta, 10 Falerii), Switzerland and French Jura (11), Wetzikon, 12 Poitiers, 13 Les Maydons—Papilard). After GAE.

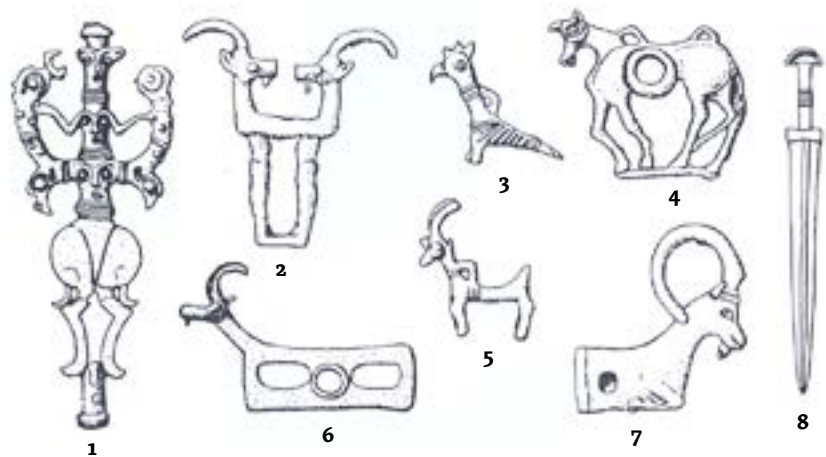


Fig. 125: Bronze objects from Luristan (1–7), 8 dagger from Amlash. After GAE.

8.4 THE WESTERNMOST PART OF THE EIA KOINE

Harrison's monograph (Harrison 2004) of the *Extramadura stelae*, with a useful catalogue, discusses not only Spain, but also generally the Copper, Bronze and Iron Age stelae in western Europe and the second chapter the Atlantic Bronze—Early Iron Age and its general characteristics. Other chapters are devoted to iconographical analyses in general, to the social interpretations of the stelae, their role in the society, to the context and meaning of the stelae, heroic, symbolic and behind the symbols. Chapter 8 tries to interpret the stelae in the context of European Late Bronze and Early Iron Age religion and society and its ideals. Chapter 9 brings a summary of the results, and the final part an exhaustive catalogue of the stelae. This part is especially important; they are well accessible to the reader in clearly recognizable linear drawings, sometimes also supplemented with photographs, supplied by his Spanish colleagues.

The stelae were in use between 1200 and 750 BC, and later. The iconographic analysis starts with a quotation of Ricardo Olmos, who defined the representations on the stelae as “a model of the reality itself” (p. 82). As in any art, there is of course a dialectic relation between art and reality: the art mirrors the reality perceived, and also gives its model for further perceiving. The art of stelae developed from simple signs to figurative. Sword, spear and shield (usually of the *Herzsprung* type) were the main components of representing, but helmet (usually the conical variety, with comb-shaped crest) was often added. Sometimes also a lyre, a mirror (a sign of beauty or of access to the other world, as with the Etruscans?), a bow with arrow, a chariot and other symbols more difficult to interpret were added. A number of figures are horned—perhaps they were wearing horned helmets, but more probably it was just a sign of heroisation (**fig. 126**). The arms of the figures are normally hanging down, but in a few cases raised, or one of them holding sword. In rare cases, the figure wears a kind of diadem. As in most other parts of the world, this phase of representation of heroic armed manhood of the deceased went out of fashion in more “civilized” societies of the Archaic age, here the Tartessian culture (cf. Woźny 2016).

This culture had contacts mainly in two directions. One is Atlantic Late Bronze Age, a larger cultural identity developed along the coastal parts of Spain and France up to Britain, and the second the first Phoenician impact, deriving from their—first very small—colonies, whose foundation was dated in later memory ca. 1200 BC. The weights on some stelae may show that these men were also involved in trade relations with merchants coming from overseas, much more probably Phoenicians than Greeks.

The self-stylisation of the family through a grave monument with idealized picture of the deceased had two main periods in prehistoric Europe: the

first was in Eneolithic, the second in the earliest Iron Age. Both periods are of important transition to a new kind of mind. The first was contemporary and connected with what happened in the Near East at the time of the rise of the writing and of the first states, the second with the transition from pre-philosophic to philosophic mind. In both periods, the heroes, men and women considered by their contemporaries as being superhuman at least to some extent, were worshipped as mediators between the divine and human worlds, and their graves also venerated. Most of the Extramadura stelae were not those of real heroes, similarly as in Late Geometric and Archaic Greece the monumental tombs under tumuli were rather sings of recollection of heroic past, of a trend to imitate on a more modest level what was considered really heroic. But in Spain, southern France, southern Germany and Italy (**fig. 126, 127**) the stelae had similar importance, as they had in Cimmerian and Scythian societies in the east. The whole family was proud of its ancestors, and its members were proud of his grave, which was kept and marked by the stele, in its pictorial signs symbolizing his importance. Large bronze cauldrons along the Atlantic coast were markers of heroic feast (Gerloff 2010).

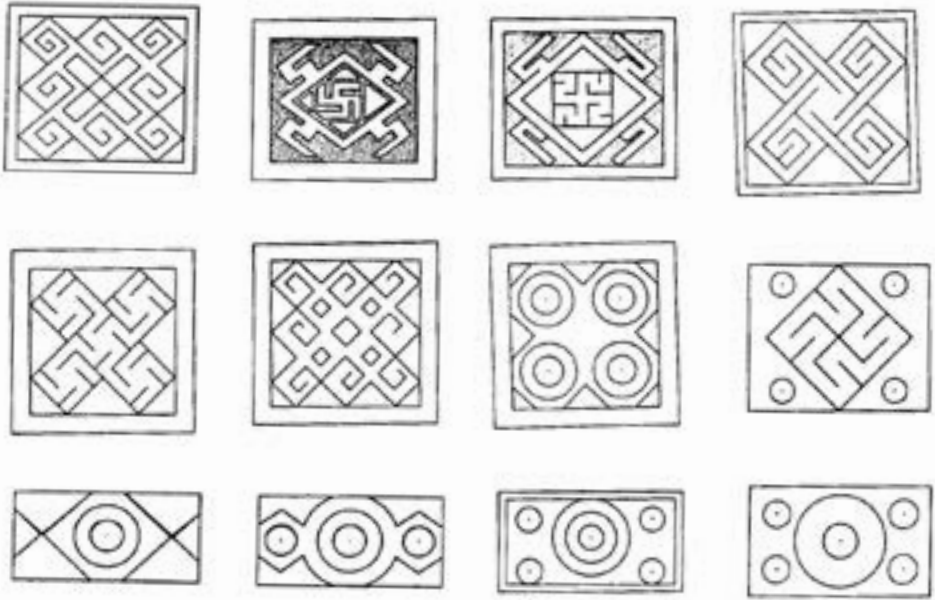


Fig. 126: Geometric ornaments on Daunian stelae. After M. Nava 1980.

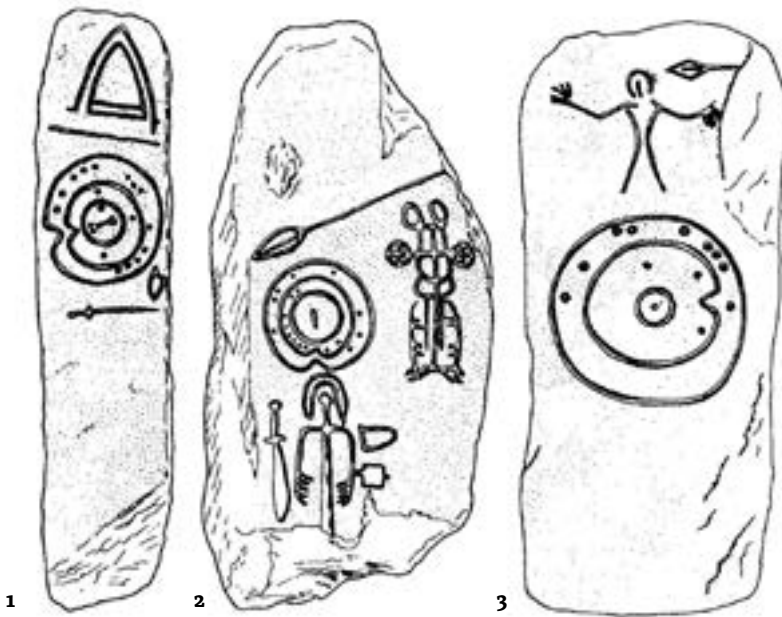


Fig. 127: Iberian stelae. 1 Santa Anna de Trujillo (Cáceres), 2 Cabeza de Buey (Badajos), 3 Figuera (Algarve). After J. Blázquez Martínez 1970.

PART 9: RELIGIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The solar symbols of gold, the importance of amber, and also wooden architecture of temples, the xoana and the symbols depicted had much in common in the whole area of the EIA *koine*. Of the papers in this section one discusses the Apolline link between Greece and the north (**fig. 128**), the other the Dionysiac relations, the third the relations between Early Greek and Thracian religion and the fourth the goddess—mother.

From the East, shamanistic and with horse riding connected elements came, and from the west the Atlantic megalithic teachings, probably in connection with ideas known from the European Hallstatt cultures. Pantheon of the time of the European Urnfields was not much different from the Mediterranean; here also most of the gods represented powers behind natural forces and only few of them had direct link to human soul: Aphrodite–Venus, goddess of love, rules us until now; she does it, however, more in the subconsciousness than in clear consciousness. But there is also Athena inspiring and guiding individual human mind; Apollo with close relationship to Hyperboreans at the Baltic Sea.

Dionysus came to Greece over Thrace, Orpheus was Thracian king, mysteries of Samothrace of Thracian origin and Thracian goddesses were closely similar to their Greek counterparts.

9.2 HYPERBOREAN APOLLO, SOLAR HEROS AND HUMAN SOUL

Greek legends show the importance of their northern neighbours for the development of the religion of Greece proper. From one side the Greeks considered their northern neighbours barbarian, on the other hand they admired their sanctuaries and religious messages as superior to theirs (Burkert 1977; 1979; Bouzek 1993b, 105–124).

Apollo, as all Greek gods, had many aspects and roots; any explication can give only some of aspects of his history and importance. Thanks to LIMC and other studies the mythology is widely known also in its pictorial language. However, mythology was never quite fixed, and could be retold in a number of varieties.

Karl Kerényi has once mentioned that a participation in a ritual on Bali opened him the eyes for understanding Greek religion. In my case participation on some Buddhist and Hindu rituals in Sri Lanka and South India helped me similarly, besides of some meetings with Australian aborigines and western Indians.

Explanation of ancient myths was never closed in antiquity; even the authors of Greek tragedies adopted variants which fitted best into the narrative. For those who were accepted into Greek mysteries different explanations of them were given on different degrees of initiation, from simple pictures to more elevated (cf. Eliade 1958; 1978).

In Greek myths Apollo left Delphi every winter and entrusted the sanctuary to Dionysus, another Greek divinity who—against the majority of them—did not govern over forces of nature, but of qualities of human mind. Aphrodite, goddess of love, near to Apollo, also used for transport swan or goose (**fig. 130.1–2**). But her power which also governs us was less affected by the “philosophical mind”. Both Apollo and Dionysus were considered divine founders of Greek civilisation, of its rationality (cf. Snell 1955; Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1965, 252–260; Himmelfmann 1964), and both came to Greece from the north. In Northern Europe even models of Aegean xoana of LH III C and Protogeometric can be found (**figs. 37** and **89**; cf. Sandars 1968, fig. 214–216; Renfrew et al. 1985, pl. 36–37, nos. 1550 and 1553). LIMC (*LIMC II*, s. v. Apollon, n° 995) brought useful lists of documents useful for knowledge of how Greeks and Etruscans represented Greek Apollo and Etruscan Aplu. An amphora of 4th century shows Leto with her children and the dragon Python (Krauskopf 1984, 34; **fig. 131**), Etruscan Red-Figured vases (**fig. 130**; Krauskopf 1984, loc. cit.—n. 5, 346, nos. 565*–568*; cf. **fig. 129**) and other documents, as the bell krater by the Meleagros Painter,¹ show Aplu on swan, Vatican G 119 on biga drawn by swan; other monuments show Apollo with the Hyperboreans, his arrival at Delos with the Hyperborean maidens (**fig. 129**). In other scenes Apollo is represented as Helios, His solar function is later transmitted to Helios, while some functions remained with Zeus (cf. A. Rapp, MRL 2, 1886–1890, s. v. Helios, col. 1994 sqq.; Lambrinoudakis, loc. cit.—n. 5, 229–231; Krauskopf, op. cit. 338–339; Smejtek – Švédová 2016).

The supreme divinity of Late Bronze and Early Iron Central Europe had before all the solar function. Later on in Celtic art the swans are replaced by dragons (cf. Ginoux 1996) and Celtic Taranis is usually represented with wheel as the Solar deity in Scandinavia (Hatt 1989, 30–35, 89–95). In Greece Apollo is also riding a griffon, for ex. on an Attic Red-Figured cup of first quarter of the 5th century BC (*LIMC II*, s. v. Apollon, n° 367) In the “Nordic” area the solar cult is well documented from 14/13th century BC; the best known examples are the Trundholm chariot (Sprockhoff, 1954, 37–71; Galling –

1 British Museum 1917–25.2.

Davidson 1969) wagon and that from Dupljaja (**pl. B 1.5**); other bronze figurines related to Trundholm and the PG Greek figurines have been found also in Bohemia and Silesia (Smejtek 2016, Bouzek – Vokolek 2016). The distribution of them and of vessel-wagons confirms the existence of a *koiné* of mutual relations between the area of the Urnfields, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (cf. Kossack 1954; Bouzek 1985, 176–181, fig. 88–90 and pl. 12–13).

Their distribution in large parts of Europe (**fig. 128**) can best be explained by a religious movement of a kind similar to the reform of Akhenaten in Egypt (cf. Bouzek 1997a, 106–109 and 1999a, 57–62).

After the fall of Amarna Egypt became civilization of tombs and Moses had to leave it to find a pathway for the future.

Annual visits of Apollo with the Hyperboreans (cf. Ahl 1982, 373–411; Hegyi 1989, 5–21), arrival of the Hyperborean Maidens and later of their gifts sent to Delos (Herod. IV 33–35), show that both centres continued to be linked until the Classical period. In some aspects Greek Apollo is comparable to Nordic Solar Hero, Persian Mithra, Marduk in Mesopotamia, and also to Michael of the Old Testament. He and his sister Artemis are representing the human ideal shown in Greek *kouroi* and *korai*, the two ideal images approaching the divine model. This idea of divine model reflected in human body is a parallel to the idea of *ego eimi* of burnig bush to Moses, preparing the *ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ* of Christ (cf. Schefold 1983).

The Apolline mythos is one of those marking path towards the New Age, from mythos to rationally understood cosmos. The Coming of the Age of Iron belongs to myths of enlightenment of human mind on the threshold of the so-called axial time. Even in small-scale works of art this period is well marked. The modest beginnings around 1000 BC laid the foundations of arrival of so-called philosophical mind. The birth of these events marked the beginning of this process during the so-called Dark Age involution, enlightened by the spiritual movements, notably in Greece, Israel and Phoenicia, but also in the steppes northeast of the Black Sea and elsewhere. Ancient world had much less tourists than there are nowadays, but pilgrims existed, important sanctuaries were targets of long-distance pilgrimage, and the most advanced individuals were preparing the new age of philosophical mind, of enlargement of human individual wisdom.

The Early Iron Ages heroes and heroines visited famous sanctuaries important for large communities, surpassing those of only local importance. Greek admiration for other spiritual centres enabled understanding beyond the local groups. Greek admiration for other religious movements, among them for those in Europe and the Black Sea area (cf. Bouzek 1999b, 11–16; 2007c, 357–362), contrasted with the usual attitude against the primitive “barbarians”. Even high-in-rank Greek mystery sanctuaries were open to aliens, non-Greeks, to men and women alike, free persons and slaves as well. This

atmosphere of respect to other important religious messages is reflected even in the story of three magicians of Matheus gospel.

9.3 EARLY GREEK RELIGION AND THRACE

Many reports mention Thracian share in the origins of Greek religion (Burkert 1977, 176–179, 291–298; Burkert 2009, 1–58); amazing feature due to the fact that the Greeks otherwise much less valued their northern neighbours.²

Among the greatest deities who according to myth came to Greece from Thrace was the god of wine and ecstatic joy, Dionysus. According to the most popular version of the story he was born as the son of the god Zeus and of Semele, the daughter of the founder of the Samothracian sanctuary, Kadmos. But already the start of his life was much troubled. His mortal mother Semele wished to see the ruler of gods in his real appearance. Zeus was refusing for a long time but in the end he could not withstand the pleas of his beloved and what he expected happened. The lightning of his shining appearance burned Semele and Zeus had to carry Dionysus (out of the womb) in his own thigh.

According to Orphic teaching, which was probably closer to Thracian tradition, this was already the second birth of Dionysus, respectively Zagreus, as he was called by his second name. First he was the child of Zeus and of Demeter's daughter Persephone. He was to have become the new ruler of the world but the Titans, the ancient barbarian demigods, tore Zagreus into pieces and ate him. Zeus killed them by lightning. Apollo collected the parts of Zagreus body that remained in the ashes after the meal of Titans, and brought them to Delphi. Wise Athena saved the heart of Zagreus and Zeus from it begot a new Dionysus with Semele.

Dionysus gained his wife Ariadne on the island of Naxos (she was the daughter of the king of Crete and the Athenian hero Theseus abandoned her there, being advised to do so by oracle). Dionysus first entered Thrace from Asia Minor, and after his arrival he severely punished the Thracian king Lycurgos, who killed the maenads (**fig. 132**) who were sent ahead by the god to Europe (Fol 1993, 1995, 2002). Dionysus was accompanied by a joyful, wine-drunk procession of Satyrs, Silens and maenads. Satyrs had human head but horse's ears and tail and always erected phallus. With Silens and Satyrs maenads danced; they were mortal women dressed in animal skins and carrying thyrsus, a stick with a pinecone as the finial (**fig. 132**). In drunken state of religious exaltation the maenads ran about in the mountains together with Satyrs or Silens. In their holy ecstasy the maenads tore animals to pieces and

2 The chapter gives a summary of the survey of Thracian religion in the book: Bouzek 2005a, 42–51.

once they even killed the Thracian king Orpheus, the second greatest figure of Thracian religion for the Greeks (**fig. 133**).

Orpheus was the son of the Thracian king Oiagres and the Muse of epic songs and music Kalliope; according to another version his father was Apollo himself. Orpheus was initiated into Dionysiac mysteries but he changed them to solar (Apolline). According to one version of the story maintained by Aeschylus and Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl. Hist.* III, 65, 6) he was therefore punished by the priests of Dionysus, who sent the maenads after him and they killed him.

Orpheus was an insuperable singer. By his singing, accompanying himself on the lyre, he could tame wild animals and nature elements; even stones and trees started to move to follow his songs. He also participated in the Argonauts expedition to Colchis for the Golden Fleece. According to mythological time he lived long before the Trojan War. His beloved wife Eurydice died of snakebite. Orpheus went after her to the underworld, where his singing so moved Hades and Persephone that he was allowed to take Eurydice back to the earth, under one condition: that he would not turn to look at her during the whole journey out of the underworld. Orpheus tried hard but he turned in the end, and lost her for the second time. He never recovered from this disaster. He wandered alone in the mountains and finally was torn to pieces by maenads in their orgiastic madness; they took him for a wild animal. His head and lyre were taken by sea current to the island of Lesbos and this dead head both foretold and explained the basics of Orphic teaching, formed on the borderline between religion and philosophy. According to the Orphics the oldest principle is Time, which created a big egg in the aether from which the Firstborn emerged, containing the embryos of gods. The Firstborn was swallowed by Zeus; the gods came out from Zeus and since then they are masters of the forces of nature. The moral principles of the world are controlled by Moirs (Fates, goddesses of consciousness), Charities (Graces, goddesses of grace and beauty), by Dike and Nemesis and above all by Nomos, the Order of the World. According to the Orphics the body is the grave of the soul and until the human soul does not reach perfection it would have to return from the heavenly world again into a human body (Fol 1991; Bogdanov 1991).

Similar teaching in northern Thrace, which taught reincarnation and the eternal life of human soul, can be found also in the legend of Zalmoxis. Herodotus (IV, 94–95) tried to rationalize this legend. According to one of his stories Zalmoxis (or Zamolxis) was a Getic slave of Pythagoras, who after some time of learning from his master got freedom, returned to the Geti and hid for three years in a tomb (Eliade 1972; Popov 1989; Sirbu 1994). The story of Herodotus is interesting mainly by connecting Zalmoxis teaching to Pythagorean; this similarity was stated also for the Orphics.

Herodotus says elsewhere that the Thracians worshiped three main gods: Ares, Dionysus and Artemis (i.e. probably Bendis; Popov 1981) and their kings above all worshiped Hermes. Last remark might refer to the idea of heroisation of the king's ancestors, which was very strong with the Thracians. The Thracian king Rhesus, who took part in the Trojan War and was famous for hunting and horse breeding, became after his untimely death the keeper of Dionysus' oracle in the Pangaion mountains. Of early Thracian sanctuaries we know mainly those on the top of the mountains and surrounded with walls (Domaradzki 2002; Venedikov et al. 1980), but springs, woods and other places of special natural beauty were also considered sacred. The main god worshipped in the mountain sanctuaries was a Solar God. Greeks compared him with Apollo who left Delphi every winter to visit the mythic Hyperboreans in the north, situated mostly by the eastern Baltic Sea, but by some Greek authors also in Thrace. One remark by Xenophon indicates that this god was probably called Sitalces by the Thracians; this was also one of the appellatives of the Delphic Apollo. The Thracian Sun God can also be compared to the Persian Ormuzd, while Mithra, the Sun Hero, seems to be a kind of predecessor of the Thracian Hero-Rider, the divine hero first represented in Thracian art in the 4th century BC. On one rhyton from Panagjurište Apollo is depicted with Hera and Artemis (all three identified by inscriptions), and this may represent—in Greek translation—the main Thracian divine triad; also the Thracian Rider is usually accompanied by two goddesses—perhaps mother and sister or spouse. Artemis was related to Thracian Bendis and the Greeks often contaminated the images of both goddesses.

The new treasure of silver vessels from Rogozen has significantly enriched our knowledge on iconography of this Thracian goddess. Like Apollo on the golden jug from Vraca, she is also usually depicted twice: she sits on a panther, with bow and arrow, on pitcher no. 155 (**fig. 135** middle); on pitcher no. 157 she is depicted on a chariot with a female charioteer (**fig. 136**). On a plaque from Letnitsa the head of the goddess is depicted as a protectrice of the hero, and there is a similar scene with two hunters attacking a boar on the Rogozen pitcher no. 159 (**fig. 135** above). It may be another aspect of the Great Goddess (related to Anatolian Cybele) when she is depicted in *hieros gamos* on one of the Letnitsa plaques (**fig. 137** right).

The already mentioned rhyton from Panagjurište suggests that besides the huntress Bendis there was in Thracian pantheon a goddess-mother (perhaps the mother of the Thracian Hero), identified with Greek Hera. Decorative *escharai*—altars in Thracian houses at Seuthopolis and Pistiros may testify to a cult of a household (fireplace) deity similar to Greek Hestia.

The prototype of the king-hero or Thracian Hero-Rider could also be the mythical Thracian king Rhesus, participating in the Trojan War. Thracian

kings had also—or above all—priestly functions; their royal status had to be confirmed by a sacred marriage with the Great Goddess of the Earth.

The most honoured of all sanctuaries connected to the Thracian world was the sanctuary of the Great Gods on the island of Samothrace. Three of the names of Samothracian gods are derived from the name of the river Axios (Vardar). According to the most popular story the Samothracian sanctuary was founded by Iasion, brother of the forefather of the Trojans, Dardanos; their mother Electra, daughter of Titan Atlas, conceived them with Zeus himself. The Samothracian sanctuary was much more important than the centres dedicated to only one people—access to it and to initiations were open to everybody regardless of nationality, gender, age or social status, even to slaves; in this it went beyond the rules of usual social and ethnic order in classical times. Iasion was the lover of Demeter and thus the myth connects Samothrace with Eleusis.

The second founder of mysteries, Syrian Kadmos (it indicates again the international status of higher mystery religion in comparison to lower national cults) came to the island after founding the Theban Kabeirion and marrying Harmonia, the daughter of the illegitimate love affair between Ares and Aphrodite, a symbol of harmonization of the polar forces of both deities (cf. esp. Lehmann 1975; Conze 1875, 1890; Samothrace 1958–1995; Bouzek – Ondřejová 1985).

At the Mikrovouli site on the island a prehistoric settlement was founded earlier than Troy I; it finally disappeared at the same time as Troy VII B. Near to the modern village of Chora there are a Thracian Early Iron Age fortress and megalithic graves of the same period. Both ceased to be used during Greek colonization around 700 BC, but Thracians lived on the island even later, together with Greek colonists, and the sacred language of the Samothracian mysteries remained Thracian. The main feasts on Samothrace included dancing, also that of the Korybantes, wild men resembling Satyrs, and symbolic performances showing stories from the life of Demeter and Kore, of Iasion and Demeter, of the marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia. The lower initiation was called *myesis*; the higher called *epopteia* required longer preparation, confession and proof of sufficient moral qualities—and only few of the candidates reached it. There may have been a third degree of initiation between the two, like in Eleusis, but the evidence is not reliable.

The main Samothracian gods, Kabeiroi, were four: Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersa and Kadmilos; According to one group of sources they were gods of the unconscious primordial creation of the world in its early stages. Goethe in the second volume of *Faust* says of them: “...though they possess divine powers they do not know what they do” respectively “only the fourth is the one who thinks for all of them” (i.e. Kadmilos). Other interpretation of Late Antiquity sources identified Axieros with Demeter, Axiokersos with Hades,

Axiokersa with Persephone and Kadmilos with Hermes; other explanations connect them to planetary deities (Sun, Mars, Mercury). The figures of Kabeiroi were according to other reports showed in the smoke getting out of vessels, formed by the breath of the hierophant. The representative of our technical civilization, Homunculus, in Faust, describes them: “Do I see gods?—rather only pots. They look as though made of clay. While trying to understand them scholars crack their heads.”

9.4 REVIEWS: DIONYSUS AND HIS COMPANIONS, SEA PEOPLES.³

A. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos in Archaic Greece: An Understanding through Images*, Leiden – Boston (Brill) 2007 Ead., *Civilizing Violence: Satyrs on 6th century Greek Vases*, Fribourg/ Göttingen 1994

The Dionysus volume is in a way complementary to the previous book by the author. In the new book she attempts to civilize Dionysus himself and argues against the prevailing modern interpretations (like esp. Nietzsche), which developed a generally accepted picture of the oppositional roles in Greek religion—Apollo vs. Dionysus. The first chapter deals with 7th century representations, the second and third with the images on vases in 6th century BC, the fourth and fifth with the thiasos of Dionysus and Ariadne and with representations of Dionysiac happiness on small vases in later 6th century. The seventh chapter summarizes the results and the final eighth chapter is a polemic with the modern mythological views on Dionysus—with Nietzsche and with modern scholarship before and after Nietzsche. The survey of iconography is exhaustive and well organized and it gives a very detailed picture of representations of Dionysus on Attic and Corinthian vases, including also addenda in other minor production centres. The illustrations of vase scenes on photographic plates are fully sufficient to follow the argumentation by the author. Sculptural images are dealt with only in outline; the contemporary images from Etruria are not considered, except for the Caeretan hydriae.

The attitude of the author is similar as to that expressed in her previous book; it reflects similar basic approach to the subject (in Heidegger’s words *Stimmung*), trying to soften the usually accepted antinomy between Apollo and Dionysus and also to pacify the general meaning of Greek gods. Of course Dionysus was also accepted as an official god of Greek polis; despite of his otherness in comparison with most other deities, his feasts were part

3 The text is based on several reviews, mainly in Gnomon.

of the year's cycle. The wild sides of his feasts were tamed by the priests and priestesses to some extent, but still he was the force of *ekstasis*, i.e. another religious path than quiet inner meditation, which was taken over from the Apolline path by Greek philosophy. He was, however, friend of Apollo, he governed at the Delphi sanctuary during the winter holidays of Apollo. The final aim of initiations of both divinities was at the end the same—unity with the divine universe, but the path was different. Dionysus of the polis was less wild than Dionysus in the wild country or in the agriculturally used landscape, where also his satyrs and their female companions lived mainly. In her discussion the author very rarely quotes Karl Schefold and Erika Simon, who might be nearer to her attitude, a few notes mention the last book by her father, but much more she discusses the views expressed in recent studies similar to her views. There are a number of polemics with Willamowitz, Rohde etc., and finally she quotes Burkert as the decisive authority. The book ends in expressing needs to re-examine all the evidence, literary, epigraphic, pictorial. "Such studies must bear in mind that Apollo, or Dionysus, or all the gods are manifestations not only of streams, nor even of a divine will over and above cultures, but of the cultural polycentrism and the historical dynamics active in Greece from the 2nd millennium BC right until the very end of antiquity."

For many others this would mean to leave the religious studies and the insight into the more substantial part of the story, but she is not alone in this position now. One can summarize: Even if her conclusions would seem to be too suppressing the wild side of Dionysus and his cult and too much "educating" or "civilizing" the picture of Dionysus, as known not only with the Greeks, but with Thracians as well, the book is certainly interesting and shows a good progress of research after the LIMC entries, and also against the previous papers by the author. For her position in the discussion on Dionysus in Thrace cf. her contribution "Dionysos, la Thrace, la Mer Noire" in *Pontica* 32, 1999, 39–49; it shows similar *Stimmung*. I read some part of the book under review in Italian, and the Italian edition sounds better; but this is the situation of all translations from one language in which the original book is written into another for which it fits less.

B. Shelley Wachsmann, *The Gurob Ship-Card Model and Its Mediterranean Context*, Ed Rachel Foundation Nautical Archaeology Series in association with the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A & M University Press, College Station 2013, 321 pp. with many illustrations.

S. W. is one of the leading world specialists in the field of Bronze and Early Iron Age ships and seafaring in the Mediterranean, he is the author of the main synthetic monograph in this field (Wachsmann 1998). In his new book

he brings a detailed reconstruction of the Gurob ship model, a unique artefact of its kind, a model of funeral ship on wheels placed as the only artefact into New Kingdom tomb 611 at Gurob, a site situated at the entrance to the Falyum oasis. It was found by Flinders Petrie in 1920 and is kept in the Petrie Egyptological Museum. The first chapter of the book describes in detail, piece after piece, all parts of the artefact, the technique of its manufacture, its colours and dating; the second discuss its iconographic parallels. Besides well-known Medinet Habu reliefs also other less well known Egyptian representations of Sea Peoples ships (Dakhla Oasis) are thoroughly discussed, then the Aegean parallels, and for the bird protomae the author mentions as distant models even the North- and Central European *Vogelbarke*, what seems to fit well into the general scenery of the given period. The ship model is closely related to ships of the Sea Peoples and to those of the LH III C Mycenaean ships, especially close parallels of the Gurob model are depicted on the LH III C shards found at Kynos in Thessaly in northern Greece (cf. Yon 1992, 394–407 and Bouzek 2011a, 188–193). The broad knowledge enabled the author to collect much other little known evidence on ships depicted in the Levant, as well as complete corpus of representations of the Sea Peoples; the author brings a substantial enlargement of evidence discussed in his monograph mentioned above and in his later papers (cf. esp. Wachsmann 2000, 103–143). The third chapter deals with transport of ship on wheels and wagons overland and it also brings useful corpus of representations of the subject in Egyptian and Greek art. The diolkos across the Corinthian Isthmus is thoroughly discussed and even modern photographs from Egypt used for reconstruction the ways of ship transport overland in antiquity. The fourth chapter investigates the document of presence of foreigners at Gurob, which was probably identical with the New Kingdom harem city Mi-Wer, with significant textile production. Syro-Canaanites and notably Libyans are known as its inhabitants from various sources, written and archaeological. Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery was found there and some literary sources mention the presence at Gurob of other East Mediterranean people. The dignitary Amen-Tursha was held for a Teresh already by Petrie, and the Sherden are reported in the area in other sources, besides the Philistines. Strange phenomenon are also holes with burned properties of individuals, reminding one of cremation rite, completely alien to Egyptian habits; the author believes that they represent traces of an Urnfield element in the midst of acculturation, an opinion which seems to fit well into the general picture of historical situation of the end of Bronze Age in the Mediterranean (cf. Bouzek 2011b, 983–1003). Even the presence of amber beads at Gurob and of the spindle whorls which the Egyptians did not use suggest that though the majority of Gurob population were the Egyptians, many foreigners were also living there, among them also people coming from Central Europe.

The conclusions by the author sum up the whole evidence. The ship is very near to those with pointed horizontal forefoot, known from LH III C to Geometric warships representations in Greece, the diagonal member resembles the beam used as large phallus on ship-cart of Dionysus, as described by Herodotus (Herod. II, 48–49) and represented on Attic Black-Figured vases. A significant number of foreigners lived at Gurob were more or less acculturated, among them descendants of the invaders from beyond the sea. In papyrus Harris' report on attack during Ramses III year 8 only the Sherden and Weshesh (Urnfield group?) are expressively called the Sea Peoples. The Gurob model derived from their actual ships, while behind the bird protomae on their prows an inspiration of the Urnfield culture *Vogelbarke*⁴ can be seen.⁵

The book shows how even the careful study of long underestimated item in museum enables better understanding of the historical situation on much larger scale. Starting from a small neglected artefact in old museum collection which was nearly forgotten and putting it into the frame of other new evidence collected from many archaeological and written sources the author gives a thorough survey of the general historical situation in the East Mediterranean countries in late 2nd millennium BC, in which also the prehistoric groups of temperate Europe participated. The book under review is an essential contribution to our knowledge of the period of collapse of Bronze Age empires and of a new start of Greek, Phoenician and Hebrew cultures; the sophisticated approach opens new horizons to historians, archaeologists and philologists and should be widely read.

9.5 GODDESS WITH ARMS

The book on the Geometric *koine* seems to be a good occasion to discuss a subject, which I tried to explain on several occasions, the last time in the *Festschrift* for Ljuba Ognenova in French (Stoyanov, ed. 2005, 30–34) but not enough clearly; it affects something of personal experience what we share still with ancient myths. We can start with the story of Thetis. Married without love with a mortal, she bore a hero, but mortal, too. She managed to protect her son against all kinds of wounds, with the exception of the heel. Her son decided to choose from his fate offers the short but famous fate instead of a long modest and plain. When Agamemnon took him his mistress Briseis, he borrowed his armour to his best but less competent friend Patroclus. He was in next battle killed by Hector, who took the Achilles' armour. Thetis commanded a new set with Hephaestus and brought it personally to her son.

4 Cf. esp. Kaul 1998.

5 Bouzek 2011a.

When Paris arrow killed him, his mother took his soul from the pyre and brought it to the Leuke island in the Black Sea, where he after his rebirth married the reborn Helen; she bore him a son called Euphorion, the Hope. This resembles the birth of Eleusinian Iakchos, of Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, Widar of Nordic mythology and even the birth of Jesus. Without the mother of the hero, later even his grandmother, the future destiny could not be realized, but even later it may get a second chance. The centre of cult of Achilles on Leuke (now Zmejnyj) island had other secondary centres on the Lower Bug and Dniester (cf. Buyskich 2005) and the youth of Achilles became popular subject on Scythian gorytos.

Thetis being goddess was more powerful than her son and protected him even beyond the earthly life. This pattern appears with variations in many legends. Sacred marriage with the goddess of the country was inauguration of the rule of Thracian and other Early Iron Age kings (**fig. 137**), Venus procured the best weapons from Vulcan to her son. The Excalibur sword was kept by a sea nymph, the dragons-snakes on the Late Bronze Age swords and on La Tène sheaths of swords (Bouzek 2005b) have another parallel in dragons drawing—the chariot of Medea (**fig. 134**).

Goddess of the Vratsa greave (Marazov 1980, Venedikov – Gerasimov 1975, pls. 231–234) resembles Greek Gorgo, often represented on Greek graves found at Olympia and Great Greece (Kunze 1991). But the Vratsa goddess can also be compared with Athena, Enyo and their Indian relatives.

Artemis–Bendis on oenochoai Rogozen 155 and 157, and winged Artemis on Rogozen 158 represent similar goddess (cf. also Marazov et alii 1989, Bouzek – Ondřejová 1988, Gergova 1989, Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1990). On the Letnitsa plaques Thetis on hippocampus is represented as Nereid in Greece (Venedikov – Gerasimov 1975, pl. 287, here **figs. 135–136**), and a Hero-Rider on another plaque is accompanied by a female head, perhaps of his mother or wife (for ex. Venedikov 1975, nos. 238, 239, 243, for the discussion cf. Alexandrescu 1983, 1984, 1996). On a Hellenistic relief in the Thasos Museum the Hero-Rider is accompanied by two women. Comparable is also the Delian triad on the Panagjurishte rhyton, where the names of divinities are changed: Goddess–Mother is called Hera instead of Leto, who was not important enough for the Thracian artist (cf. Bouzek – Ondřejová 1987, 78, fig. 15, 80 f.). Thracian triad was similar to that of Delos (Marazov 1996, 137–139).

It can be summarized that goddess with arms supporting her son or husband is common in Indo-European and other myths (cf. also Alexandrescu 1996, Bouzek 2002b, 98–101). To be supported by a goddess was important even for the most advanced heroes. Generally, human destiny cannot be achieved without collaboration with other forces. For men, even the most strong, support of his wife or patroness is as necessary as their own forces.

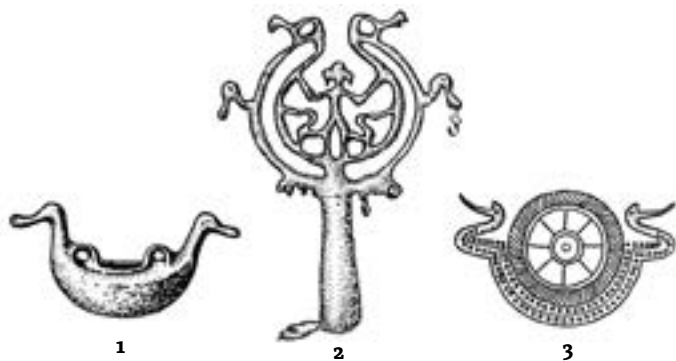


Fig. 128: Solar symbols. 1 Solar boat with bird heads, Samos near Szatmár, Hungary, 2 handle of bronze vessel from Bisenzio, Solar Hero, 3 wheel with protomae of birds, Siem, Denmark; all bronze.



Fig. 129: Apollo with Hyperboreans, rear plate of corselet, Olympia, 6th century BC.



Fig. 130: Apollo on Italic vases of 4th century, 1 Apollo on swan, girl with mirror, 2 Apollo on swan, Satyrs and maenad.



Fig. 131: Leto with children and dragon, from a lost Italic 4th century BC vase. After Bouzek 2000.



Fig. 132: Dionysus and maenads, after Attic vase of 6th century BC.



Fig. 133: Maenad killing Orpheus, after Attic vase of 5th century BC.



Fig. 134: Chariot of Medea with dragons (right) and dragons on sheath of Celtic sword from Taljandörögd, Hungary (left). After Bouzek 2002.

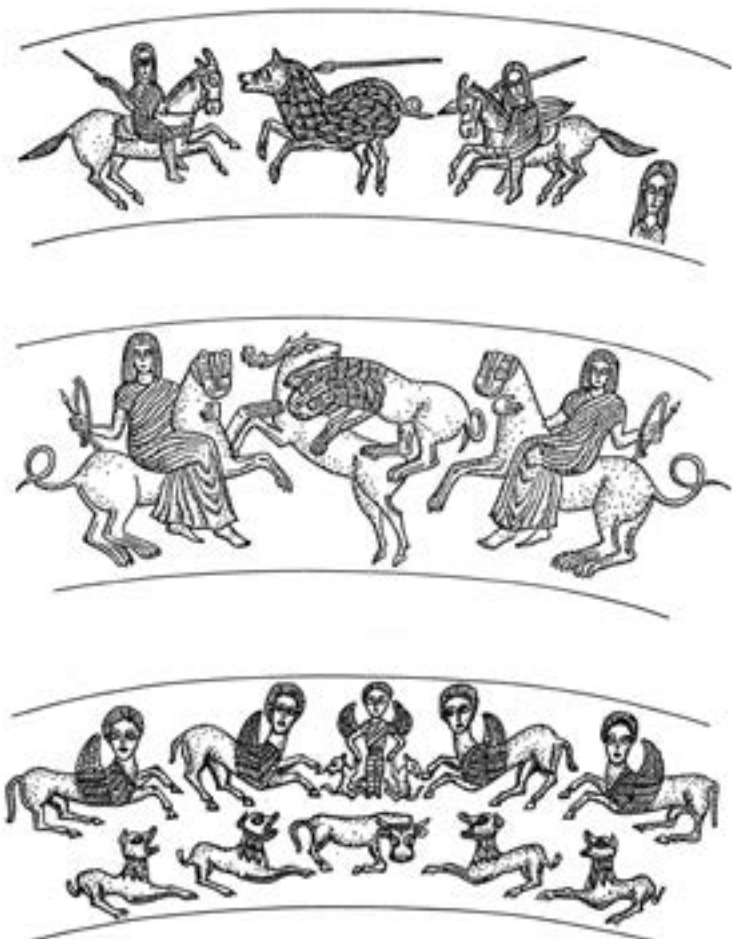


Fig. 135: Scenes on silver vessels 1159, 155 and 158 of the Rogozen hoard. Goddesses.



Fig. 136: Scene on silver vessel Rogozen 157. Goddesses on chariots.



Fig. 137: Two representations of royal investiture, left gold ring bezel from Malkata mogila near Šipka, right one of the Letnitsa plaques.

PART 10: SUMMARY

FROM BRONZE AGE MYTHOS TO IRON AGE COSMOS: THE PROTAGONISTS AND OTHER PARTICIPANTS

LH III C laid the foundations of Iron Age development by attempts to overcome the collapse of the bureaucratic pyramidal Bronze Age system by creating independent smaller self-sustaining units, by taking new inspiration from south and north in the fields of religion, architecture, ironworking, agriculture, and in the way of perception of the world. It started the new path in art by changing iconography and stylisation of human and animal figures from the Mycenaean dilution of already degenerated schematic forms to new simpler geometric formulae, thus planting the seeds fully developed later in Geometric art, together with introducing clay figurines reflecting the wooden xoana. It made the first step towards the new understanding of the principles of wooden architecture from which later the architectonic orders arose, of structure and rhythm of vase painting and sculpture. Even if not yet completely freed from the Bronze Age stylisations, the LH III C represents a transition towards the EIA Greek synthesis of reflecting and depicting the world.

Homeric heroes and the first Hebrew kings show attempts to reach the new individual identity, the Sea Peoples phenomenon the rise of *Gefolgschaft* over the blood ties and the privatisation of international trade ventures the freeing of divine—state authority by enterprising spirit

Submycenaean period signalled the arrival of stronger individualisation by change from family tombs to individual inhumations flanked by stone slabs, and the Protogeometric to cremations, aiming at sharper frontier between the spheres of living and dead. The spiral, symbol of eternal retour, was replaced by separate concentric circles, symbolising sun, female breasts and by its five or seven circles the spheres of the universe. The male and female varieties of amphorae whose shape was understood as reflection of human body (including breasts represented on the female version), into which burials of both sexes were put, show the first steps of human—centred civilisation, in which the man is the measure of all things. The anthropocentric character of Greek culture from its EIA beginnings replaced the pyramidal Bronze Age hierarchy by the society of free citizens, *homoioi*.

The masterly drawing of multiple circles in one draft, which could not be corrected, with multiple brush compass, required high awakening of mind paralleled for ex. in the zen exercises of training of supreme concentration, as bow shooting into the preceding arrow. The LPG Close Style, notably in Athens, achieved sophisticated level in combination of rhythmic structures, from triglyph-metopes to five and more members of symmetric patterns and in the application of modules, probably at the time of legendary synoicism; these patterns are also applied in the structure of the Iliad and Odyssey. Men went in arms, and they followed them into their graves, as did women follow the jewellery. The constitution of synoicism also reflects the similar difference in the Iliad between Troy, founded by the gods, and the Greek camp, with through human agreements introduced its laws.

Both PG and Geometric styles owed much inspiration to textiles and basketry. The strictly rectilinear Geometric style is paralleled in children's psychology, where the transition from spirals to straight lines in children's drawings is explained as the birth of abstract thought. The angular meander fixed the sharp transitions from one to another direction as against the fluent old spirals. The LPG and EG art offer the best parallels to the Iliad, the Lefkandi burial to its heroes. Of the main three generations of Homeric characters, the earliest is best represented by Aias with Bronze Age shield and helmet, who had least clear mind and out of shame committed suicide, the middle level by Hector and Achilles, who were also enable to enter the new world, into which after many troubles the cunning Odysseus arrived, supported by goddess of wisdom Athena, after stealing her palladium from Troy. The change of identity needed individual intelligence of logos even of those with less moral character; David in the Old Testament is similar to Odysseus; the Lord supported him also with accepting of problematic sides of his character: both were examples of the way from pre-philosophic to philosophic mind in the sense of August Comte. Oval houses and circular huts change into rectangular ground plan to be able to join the urban grid of streets and squares of the synoicismus, the physical foundation of the polis.

776 BC, the date of the first Olympiad, saw already the beginnings of rise of the city states in Greece and Etruria, being soon followed by Rome. Late Geometric art refined the structure and modular systems with great progress of mathematic understanding of space and formed the scaffolding for all later development of Greek art. The competitive spirit lead creations of local styles, notably in the poleis; the ethnoi tried less. Being the most sophisticated province of the EIA *koine* of Geometric arts, including large parts of Europe and northern Eurasia, Greek model gave them inspiration, but it also took another in reverse direction from Villanovan Italy, Hallstatt style of Central Europe, and Geometric Animal styles of the East Balkan and North Pontic

areas, Transcaucasia and Luristan. Imports (in Greek sanctuaries brought by pilgrims) and exports of bronze items preceded that of pottery in some directions, while the latter was known in the Levant and Italy since the LPG period.

At the turn of the 8th and 7th century and during the 7th century the Greek art adopted more inspiration from the Near East, while it formed as leader of the EIA *koine* and via its colonies the new Orientalizing *koine*, including Etruscans and other Italics in Italy, Iberians in Spain, Thracian, Paeonian and Illyrian arts in the Balkans, Situla art north of the Adriatic, Scythian in the northern Black Sea. Even in Asia Minor and the Levant Greek art influenced its eastern neighbours and similar situation existed in Transcaucasia. With some retard the Greek Orientalizing art inspired even the Celts further northwards. But in addition to general resemblances the new evidence knows fragments of East Greek and Early Archaic pottery even far inland in the Balkans, Italy, Spain and southern France.

The Geometric *koine* and its “Orientalizing” follower reflected and founded the new identity, the base of philosophical creative personal individual mind of the Age of Iron, freed from the old, by rigid theocratic authority governed mind of the Bronze Age. This threshold towards philosophical mind from which the civilisation of Classical antiquity and its further heritage arose, came through collapse of the old system of royalties of divine-based authority to constitutions based on human rational agreement of Greek polis and Roman and Etruscan civitas. The artistic development first proceeded through dissolving of earlier forms into abstract formulae and signs and compiling from them the new language by the means of scaffolding the foundation, skeleton of newly created forms, their analysing elements—parallel to isolating vocals and consonants in the alphabetic script—and later creating new order based on anthropocentric principle. In the first phase Phoenicians with discovery of alphabet and courageous private maritime enterprise went faster, but soon the leading position fell to the Greeks and on another field to the Hebrews. Besides protagonists the overcoming the threshold was also the work of other so-called nations in the shade; in the east by the mastery of horsemanship, the capacity of fully imposing the will of the rider to the horse, in most parts of Europe by the individual bravery of strong individuals freed on Apolline and Dionysiac paths from blood ties and able to develop through free decisions created communities of *Gefolgschaft*, *ethnos* and polis—civitas. The archaeology and art history of the Dark Age enable through study of its illiterate sources more profound understanding of one of the basic thresholds of human history and development of human mind, including understanding of the community of participants playing together with the protagonists their minor roles, but imminent for the accomplishing of the complete performance. The aim of this book was to contribute to understanding this process of special importance nowadays, when we have

to clear our mind to be able to face our problems and to find the way out from our present crisis endangered by threat of another collapse.

While the way out from the late third millennium BC crisis in the Mediterranean was found in creating sufficient reserves of foodstuff of centralized state economy, the late second millennium BC escape from the collapse was found in the modesty of small self-sustaining communities and individuals based on locally available sources, in courage and in the clearance of mind, of substantial progress of human mental capacity.

Addendum: Chronological chart of the Early Iron Age Geometric *koine* groups (1300–700 BC)

Greece	LH III B 1300–1200, LH III C 1200–1100, subMyc 1100–1025, Protogeometric 1025–900, Geometric 900–700, since 700 Orientalising
Central Europe	Ha A 1 ca. 1250–1100, Ha A 2 ca. 1100–1025, Ha B 1 ca. 1025–925, Ha B 2 ca. 925–876, Ha B 3 ca. 875–800, Ha C 1 ca. 800–675
Italy	Protovillanovan ca. 1100–900, Villanovan 900–700, since 700 Orientalising
Thrace	LBA ca. 1300–1100, Early Iron Age 1100–800, Geometric 8th–7th century, Archaic 6th cent. BC, Classical 5th century
North Pontic area	Sabatinovka ca. 1200–1075, Belozerka 1075–950, Cimmerians 950–700 (Chernogorovka, Novochoerkassk), Early Scythian starts ca. 700 BC, Koban culture and Transcaucasia EIA ca. 1000–700, Luristan bronzes ca. 1100–700 BC, since 700 The “Orientalising” <i>koine</i> , with the Celts only in 5th century

ADDENDUM 2014–2017

For the North Adriatic the most important is the publication of the excavated Middle Bronze Age castelli in Istria: Monkodonja I, Hänsel-Teržan et alii, Pula 2015, and the pottery from the fort, vol. II 2016 comparable to the lowland terramare settlements in the Po valley.

The new periodical *Archaiologiko ergo tes Thessalias kai Stereas Ellados reports* refers a.o. on new finds of Macedonian and Thessalian bronzes.

Several important new books on the subject:

- Dietz, S. et alii 2015: *Prehistoric Aegean and Near Eastern Metal Types*, Copenhagen-Aarhus.
 Papadopoulos, J. – Kontorli-Papadoupoulou, L. 2014: *Vravron: The Mycenaean Cemetery*, Uppsala.
 Vlachou, V. – Gadolou, A., eds. 2017: *Terpsis Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology in Honour of Nota Kourou*, Brussels.
 Bintliff, J., Rutter, K. 2016: *The Archaeology of Greece and Rome: Studies in Honour of Anthony Snodgrass*, Edinburgh.
 Knapp, A. B. – Demasticha, S. 2017: *Mediterranean Connections: Maritime Transport Containers and Seaborne Trade in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, Uppsala.
 Driessen, J., ed. 2017: *RA-PI-NE-U, Studies on the Mycenaean World Offered to Robert Laffineur for His 70th Birthday*, Louvain.
 Sideris, A. 2016: *Metal vases in the Vassil Bojkov Collection*, Sofia.
 Murray, S. 2017: *The Collapse of the Mycenaean Economy, 1300–1700 BCE*, Cambridge.
 Kleibrink, M. et alii 2016: *Excavations at Francavilla Marittima, 1991–2004: Finds Related to Textile Production from the Timpone Della Motta. Spindle whorls*, BAR Oxford.
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 Gorogianni, E. – Pavúk, P. – Girella, L., eds. 2016: *Beyond Thalassocracies. Understanding Processes of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation in the Aegean*, Oxford.

Sources of illustrations

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